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NEW SERIES. VOL. XXX

JULY—DECEMBER, 1907

CHICAGO
The University of Chicago Press
1907

94804
11/2/09



BS
410
B58
n.s.
v.30

Published
July, August, September, October, November, December, 1907

Composed and Printed By
The University of Chicago Press
Chicago, Illinois, U. S. A.

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SITE OF THE GREAT COURT OF SOLOMON

THE BIBLICAL WORLD

VOLUME XXX JULY, 1907 NUMBER 1

Editorial

THE HISTORICAL STUDY OF THE BIBLE AND THE EXTENSION OF CHRISTIANITY

SIGNS OF PROGRESS IN MISSIONARY WORK

There are many facts to encourage the hope that we are entering upon a new era in the extension of Christianity throughout the world. Practically all lands of the world are now open to Christian missionaries, and opportunities and possibilities such as the world never knew before now confront the Christian church. In China especially a situation has developed which offers to Christianity an almost unlimited opportunity to make itself felt as a controlling factor in the future history of the world. Shaken from that contentment with its own past and contempt of occidental nations which down to its defeat by Japan in 1895 had for centuries characterized its life, China is reaching out, with an eagerness that is pathetic, to grasp those things which, as it now recognizes, have made western nations in many respects superior to itself. Among these things education and religion hold a place of first importance. Establishing tens of thousands of schools at home, and bidding the teachers in these schools introduce the western learning, and in some provinces the Bible, China at the same time instructs her commissioners to the western lands to find, if they may, a new religion for China.

Simultaneously with this opening of the doors of opportunity in the Orient, multitudes of young men and women in this country have had their thoughts turned to foreign countries as the possible field of their life-work, and to teaching and preaching as the form of that work. In a period in which splendid rewards, material and intellectual, await educated men in all the various departments of engineering,

in business, and in the professions, there is nevertheless a large company of young men who are looking eagerly toward Christian work among oriental peoples as affording them the most satisfying and rewarding career in life.

SIMULTANEOUS CHANGES IN CHRISTIAN THOUGHT

But in the same years in which these things have come to pass, great changes have been going on in the thought of the Christian world as to the content of the message which Christianity has to bear to the non-Christian world. The influences which have brought about these changes have proceeded from biological science, from psychology and philosophy, especially in the development of a new conception of the nature of knowledge and of authority in the sphere of belief and conduct, and from historical study, especially in its influence upon the method of Bible study and the conception of the Bible itself.

EFFECT ON CHRISTIANITY AS A MISSIONARY RELIGION

Have these changes shorn Christianity of its power? Is it an enfeebled Christianity that confronts these new and unparalleled opportunities in the eastern lands? Or have they fitted it better to meet them and more effectively to use them? Have they weakened or strengthened Christianity as a missionary religion? We shall attempt to answer this question only in respect to the influence that has been exerted by the adoption of the historical point of view in the study of the Bible.

In the first place, it has transferred the emphasis from the theology of the Bible to its religion. Once it was believed that the theology of the Bible was homogeneous and uniform throughout all the books that constitute it. But with the recognition, consequent upon the adoption of the historical point of view, that the books of the Bible reflect a considerable variety of theological opinion, there has come, not indeed a diminished interest in the theology of the Bible, but a recognition that it is not this after all that is vital to the development of present-day religious life. With this has gone naturally the perception, on the one hand, that the religion of the Bible is far more homogeneous than its theology, and, on the other, that it is religion more than theology that men need, and that the pre-eminent service which

the Bible is adapted to render is to enable men through contact with the religious life which it portrays to enter into deeper religious life themselves.

In the second place, there has been, paradoxically but naturally, a transfer of emphasis from the historical to the religious. Paradoxical, because it is at first sight strange that the historical study of the Bible should diminish emphasis on the historical. But precisely this it does. Formerly this dogma of inerrancy was applied, not only to those statements of the biblical writers which had directly to do with religion and morals, but also to those that pertain to history, to literature, even to biological science. Now, the historical student is certainly not indifferent to statements of this kind. Every one of them is valuable for his purposes. But the more he is concerned with them as a historian, the clearer it becomes to him that these are but the vehicle that conveys to us the real values of the Bible—those great religious experiences, personal and racial, and those insights into the meaning of these experiences, which make the Bible not only unsurpassed, but unequaled, in the religious literature of the world.

The result of these changes of emphasis is a Christianity which, being relieved of the burden of historical and literary theories, and freed from untenable claims of inerrancy and from overemphasis upon theology as distinguished from religion, rests its appeal to the adherents of other religions on its power to produce a higher type of character than they have developed.

THE RESULT—A GAIN FOR MISSIONS

All this is a gain from the missionary point of view. Why, by complicating our presentation of it with theories concerning the origin of the race, or the chronological order and method of production of the books of the Bible, should we make the acceptance of Christianity more difficult for the nations of the Orient which are today in need of its uplifting and enlightening influence? Why should we teach them, what they will surely be compelled later to unlearn, that these books are inerrant historically, scientifically, and theologically? Were all these claims true, it would be difficult to justify active effort to bring Christianity to the attention of non-Christian peoples, were it not also true that it can make men better, adding to their welfare now and in

the future. And if this be so, then we do well to keep this aspect of the matter in the foreground. The fewer untenable or debatable elements with which our message is complicated, the simpler and plainer the issue is made, the clearer it is that Christians are impelled to bring their religion to those who are living under another faith because of their conviction that it is good for those to whom they bring it, the more rapid progress will be made.

CHRISTIANITY OF TODAY REPEATING THE EXPERIENCE OF THE FIRST CENTURY

That great missionary of the first century, the apostle Paul, was constrained to strip away from that religion which he had learned from his childhood, and which is today the historic basis of our religion, a large part of that which had been regarded as essential to it, even though for some of these discarded elements he could have quoted a "Thus saith the Lord" from his and our sacred Scriptures. He did this, first because his own experience and his observation of the experience of others had taught him that these things no longer contributed to the development of moral and religious life, and secondly because insistence upon them proved a serious hindrance to the acceptance of Christianity by the gentiles. The Christian church has but haltingly followed in the footsteps of the great apostle. Though it has never re-enacted circumcision and the law of foods which Paul so explicitly rejected, it has rarely had the courage to admit and to follow the general principle on which Paul rejected these, and it has incumbered itself in every generation and sect with many impedimenta, hindering its progress at home and its acceptance abroad.

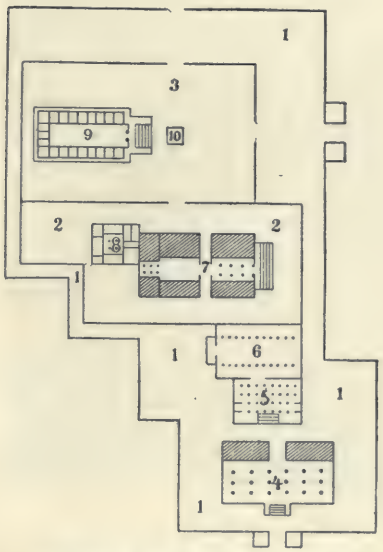
What Paul did in his day, radically and with magnificent courage, the historical study of the Bible has, less radically and with less need of courage, done again in our day—stripped away some of the impedimenta of religion and given us a Christianity better fitted to fulfil its world-mission than that which had come down to us clothed in the hindering garments of tradition. Divine Providence has not been working at cross-purposes with itself. The opening of all the doors, the removing of all the obstacles, has come coincidentally, not with the enfeeblement and corruption of Christianity, but with its emancipation from the hindering assertion of irrelevant and indefensible theories.

JERUSALEM IN BIBLE TIMES

PROFESSOR LEWIS BAYLES PATON, PH.D., D.D.
Hartford Theological Seminary

VII. SOLOMON'S BUILDINGS

With Solomon a new building era began in Jerusalem. David left a united kingdom and the neighboring nations reduced to tribute, so that Solomon was free to indulge his splendor-loving tastes. His entire reign was devoted to the enlargement and beautification of his capital. The following structures are ascribed to him by the Book of Kings:



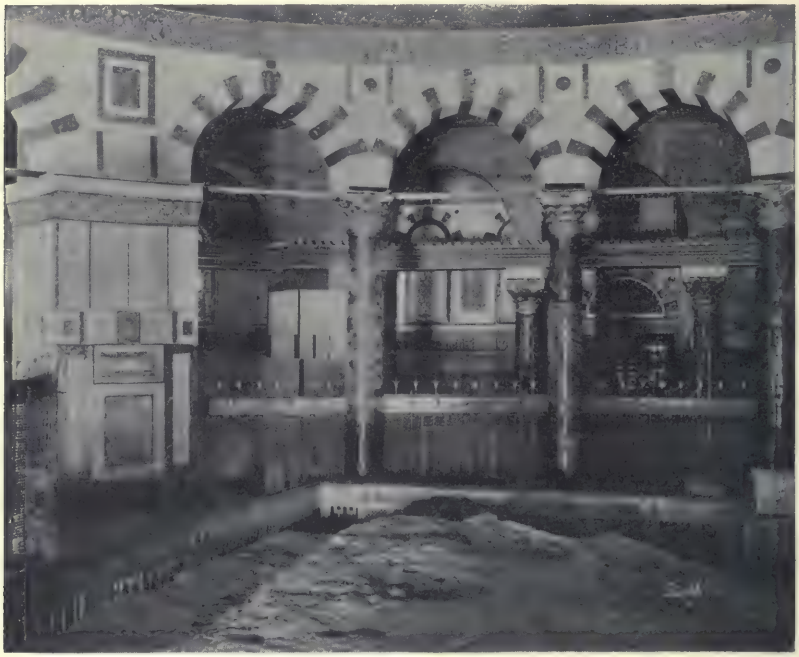
GROUND PLAN OF SOLOMON'S BUILDINGS (After Benzinger)

1. Great Court; 2. Other Court; 3. Court of the Temple; 4. House of the Forest of Lebanon; 5. Porch of Pillars; 6. Porch of Judgment; 7. King's House; 8. House of Pharaoh's Daughter; 9. Temple; 10. Altar.

1. *The Temple.* — According to I Kings 3: 1 ff.; chaps. 5–8; 9:1, 10, 15, Solomon built a new sanctuary for the Ark in place of the tent that his father had pitched on Mount Zion. The location of this Temple is certain. It stood on the same site as Herod's Temple, and Herod's Temple stood on the summit of the eastern hill of Jerusalem. The Saḥra, or "rock," under the dome of the Mosque of Omar, marks the location of the Altar of Herod's Temple and also of Solomon's Temple. The House, or Sanctuary, stood on high ground west of the Altar. The name *Debir*, which is used for the Holy of Holies, means properly "west," which shows that the holiest place lay at the west end of the Temple. This is also evident from Ezek. 8:16, where twenty-five men worshiping the rising sun stand

between the Porch and the Altar, with their backs toward the Temple and their faces toward the east. Accordingly, Solomon's Temple must have stood on the site of the present inner platform west of the Kubbet-es-Sahra or Mosque of Omar.

The *Hekal*, or House, was 60 cubits long, 20 cubits broad, and 30 cubits high according to I Kings 6:2. From I Kings 6:16 and the

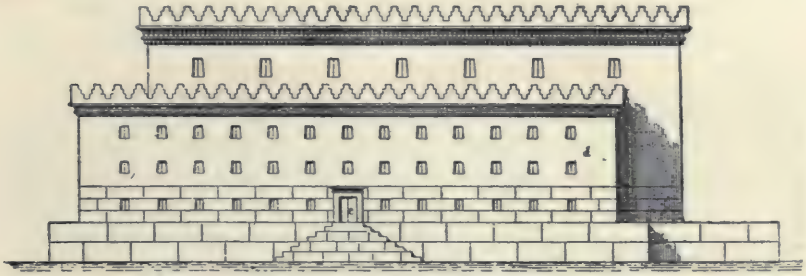


THE SAHRA, THE SITE OF SOLOMON'S ALTAR

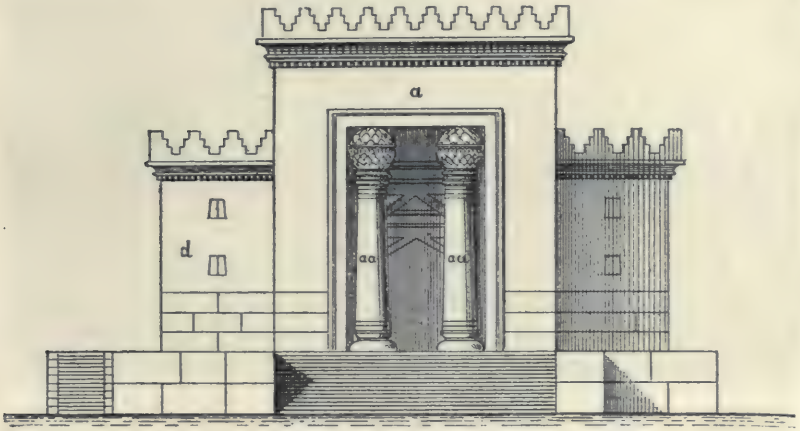
statements of Ezekiel it appears that these are inside measurements. This space was divided by a partition into two rooms—one 40×20 cubits, the Holy Place, and the other 20×20 cubits, the *Debir*, or Holy of Holies. The thickness of the inclosing walls is not given in the Book of Kings. Ezekiel, who patterns his Temple on the model of Solomon's Temple, says that the walls are to be 6 cubits thick at the base.

On the east end of the Sanctuary stood a Porch, the inside measurements of which were 20×10 cubits (I Kings 6:3). The length

was thus the same as the breadth of the Sanctuary. The Book of Kings does not give the height of this Porch, but Chronicles says that it was 120 cubits. This is an incredible proportion, and it is probable that its height was 30 cubits, the same as that of the Sanctuary.



SOLOMON'S TEMPLE. SOUTH ELEVATION (After Stade)



SOLOMON'S TEMPLE, EAST ELEVATION (After Stade)

On the north, west, and south the Temple was surrounded with three stories of chambers, but these did not encompass the east side, where the Porch stood. Each story was 5 cubits high, so that the three tiers reached a height of 15 cubits, or half the height of the Temple. There was thus a space between the roof of the chambers and the roof of the Temple that was used for clearstory windows (I Kings 6:4). The structure as a whole must thus have borne a rude resemblance to a Gothic church, with nave and aisles, the most important

difference being that all the roofs were flat. In regard to the breadth of the wings Kings gives us no information, but in Ezekiel's Temple the chambers were 5, 6, and 7 cubits broad in the successive stories. The greater breadth of the upper stories was due to the fact that there was a rebatement of half a cubit in both walls at each story, on which to rest the ends of the beams that supported the floors.

The Temple was surrounded with a Court, which, in I Kings 6:36;



SITE OF INNER COURT OF SOLOMON'S TEMPLE

7:12, is called the Inner Court, to distinguish it from the Great, or Outer, Court that inclosed all of Solomon's buildings. In Jer. 36:10 it is called the Upper Court because it stood on a higher level on the top of the hill. Unlike the Temple of Zerubbabel and the Temple of Herod, Solomon's Sanctuary had only one inclosing court. Not until the time of Ezekiel was there any idea of a special sanctity of the priests that demanded that they should have a court of their own into which ordinary Israelites might not enter. From II Kings 12:9–12 and Jer. 35:1 ff.; 36:10, it appears that in pre-exilic times

laymen had free access to the Inner Court. When II Kings 23:12 speaks of "the two courts of the House of Yahweh," it does not mean that there was a court of the priests and a court of Israelites, such as existed in the second Temple, but refers only to the Inner Court and the Great Court. The Inner Court, according to I Kings 6:36; 7:12, had a wall of three courses of hewn stones and a structure of cedar beams on the top. In regard to its size and shape nothing is said.

No gates of the Inner Court are mentioned in the narrative of the building of the Temple, but II Kings 15:35 speaks of an Upper Gate of the House of Yahweh, and Jeremiah and Ezekiel make frequent mention of gates. It is probable that the gates which existed in the time of Jeremiah were the same as those originally constructed by Solomon (cf. Jer. 7:2; 22:2–4). From Jer. 52:24=II Kings 25:18 it appears that there were three keepers of the thresholds of the House of Yahweh. This indicates that there were three gates to the Temple. These would naturally be on the north, south, and east sides, since on the west was the Holy of Holies, which no one but the high-priest was permitted to enter.

In II Kings 15:35=II Chron. 27:3 we are told that Jotham built the Upper Gate to the Temple (cf. II Chron. 23:20). From Jer. 20:2; 37:13, it appears that the Upper Gate was identical with the Gate of Benjamin, and from Ezek. 8:3, 14; 9:2 it appears that this gate was in the north wall of the Inner Court (cf. Zech. 14:10). In Jer. 26:10; 36:10 this Upper, or North, or Benjamin Gate is called the New Gate. This is, apparently, an allusion to the fact that it was rebuilt by Jotham; but it does not show that it was not in existence in the time of Solomon, since there must always have been some access to the Temple from the north. In Ezek. 8:5 it is called the Altar Gate, because it gave easiest access to the Altar. In Ezek. 46:9 it is described as the chief entrance of the proposed second Temple. This, perhaps, throws some light on its importance in pre-exilic times. Neh. 12:39 speaks of it as the Sheep Gate. This corresponds with Ezekiel's designation of it as the Altar Gate. It was the opening through which victims were commonly brought.

There must always have been a South Gate leading from the Temple to the court of the Palace, although this is not expressly

named in the account of Solomon's building operations. I Kings 14:27 f. = II Chron. 12:10 f. speaks of shields of brass that Rehoboam committed to the captains of the guard that kept the door of the King's House, and that they bore before him when he entered the Temple. This door must have been an opening connecting the court of the Temple with the court of the Palace. II Kings 11:6 = II Chron. 23:5 (emended text) speaks of a Guard Gate. The guard leaving the Temple is said to have gone on duty at this point. In II Kings 11:19 the young king, after being crowned in the Temple, is escorted through the Guard Gate to the Palace. In Neh. 12:39 the second company of Levites enter by the Sheep Gate on the north side of the Temple Court and stand still at the gate of the guard on the southern side.

There must also have been an East Gate to the Temple Court, since the main entrance to the Sanctuary was on the east side. This is not mentioned in any early narrative. Jer. 38:14 speaks of the third entry into the House of Yahweh, and Ezek. 10:19; 11:1 mentions the East Gate of the House of Yahweh. In Ezekiel's plan for a second Temple the East Gate is to be used only by the king. This corresponds with his desire that the Palace shall be removed from its proximity to the Temple on the southern side, and that that quarter shall be given up to the occupancy of the priests. The old East Gate must have stood approximately on the site of the modern Golden Gate of the Ḥaram. According to I Chron. 26:16, there was also a West Gate, but no trace of this appears in pre-exilic literature. It belonged to Zerubbabel's Temple rather than to Solomon's.

2. *Solomon's Palace.*—According to I Kings 3:1; 7:1; 9:1, 10, 15; 10:4, 5, 12, Solomon built a Palace for himself at the time that he reared the House of Yahweh. This is mentioned frequently in the later history under the name of the King's House. This Palace remained as Solomon had built it until the time of its destruction by Nebuchadrezzar (II Kings 25:9). Its ruins were still visible in the time of Nehemiah. It is clear from a number of passages that it adjoined the Temple. In I Kings 6:36; 7:8, 12 we are told that the Inner Court which inclosed the Temple, and the Middle Court which inclosed the Palace, were both included in the Great Court of the

Palace Quarter. Isa. 1:26 ff.; Ps. 2:6, and numerous other passages, speak of the Palace as situated on Zion; but Zion, as we have seen, was the hill on which the Temple stood. The constant combination



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THE GOLDEN GATE, SITE OF EAST GATE OF TEMPLE

of "The House of Yahweh" and "The King's House" shows that the two buildings were a part of one complex (cf. II Kings 12:18; 14:14; 16:8; 18:15; 24:13; 25:9). In Jer. 36:12 ff. and other passages the royal residence is described as so near to the Temple that the

king and the princes could be summoned quickly in case of any disturbance arising in the Inner Court. Ezek. 43:8 says: "They shall no more defile my name . . . . through setting their threshold by my threshold and their doorpost by my doorpost and there was but the wall between me and them."

The Palace cannot have been adjacent to the Temple on the north, because the north quarter was not inclosed until a time long after Solomon. The hill was so narrow that there was no room for a building east or west of the Temple Court; consequently, if the Palace adjoined the Temple, it must have lain immediately south of it. With this agree numerous passages that show that the Palace was higher than the City of David and lower than the Temple. In I Kings 8:1 the Ark is "brought up" out of the City of David, and in 9:24 Pharaoh's daughter "goes up" from the City of David to the Palace. In I Kings 8:4; 10:5; and Jer. 26:10 people "come up" from the Palace to the Temple, and in II Kings 11:19 and Jer. 22:1 they "go down" from the Temple to the Palace. In Mic. 4:8 Ophel of the daughter Zion is described as the seat of government. This indicates that the Palace lay on the hill of Ophel, south of the Temple inclosure. The view of Thenius and Furrer, that Solomon's Palace was situated on the western hill, is thus seen to be contrary to all the biblical evidence. It is also contradicted by archaeology, since no substructures of great buildings have been found on the western hill. If the Palace had stood on this hill, it would have been impossible to speak of going up from it to the Temple, since this hill was considerably higher than the east hill on which the Temple stood.

Five buildings are named that stood within the Palace inclosure: the House of the Forest of Lebanon, the Porch of Pillars, the Porch of Judgment, Solomon's House, and the House of Pharaoh's Daughter. The natural configuration of the hill shows that these buildings must have stood in a line running from northwest to southeast and descending in terraces toward the south. The crest of the hill was so narrow that platforms had to be built up to support the courts and buildings. I Kings 7:10–12 speaks of "great stones, costly stones" that were used in the foundations; and they are also mentioned by Josephus in *Ant.*, viii, 3:2. Ezekiel's statement that the House

of the King joined the House of Yahweh (43:8) shows that the order of the buildings in I Kings 7:2–8 is from south to north. This is the order in which they would be traversed by one going up from the City of David to the Temple.

South of the Temple Court was Solomon's private residence, which I Kings 7:8*a* calls "his house where he might dwell." Adjacent to this, probably on the west, was the House of Pharaoh's Daughter, or Harem (I King 7:8*b*; 9:24). These two buildings were surrounded by a court, which in I Kings 7:8 is called the Other Court, to distinguish it from the Inner Court which surrounded the Temple. In II Kings 20:4 this is called the Middle Court, because it lay between the Inner Court and the Great Court. In Jer. 32:2 it is called the Court of the Guard, because in it were stationed the royal guards (cf. II Kings 11:5, 19; II Chron. 23:5; Neh. 12:39, where the gate that led from this court into the Temple Court is called the Gate of the Guard). In Neh. 3:25 it is described as the "Court of the Guard that is by the tower that stands out from the Upper House of the King." The north wall of the Middle Court was the same as the south wall of the Inner Court. According to I Kings 7:8, the structure of the entire wall of this court was similar to that of the Temple Court.

South of the Middle or Palace Court stood the Porch of Judgment (I Kings 7:7), which served as an audience chamber for the king. No particulars are given in regard to its dimensions or appearance. In I Kings 10:18–20 it is said to have contained Solomon's throne of ivory and gold. Adjacent to it on the south stood the Porch of Pillars (I Kings 7:6), which measured 50×30 cubits. Apparently it served as a sort of anteroom to the throneroom in which Solomon held audience. The southernmost building was the House of the Forest of Lebanon, which is described in I Kings 7:2–5. This was 100 cubits long by 50 broad. Its roof was supported by forty-five pillars of cedar wood in three rows of fifteen each. According to I Kings 10:16 f.; Isa. 22:8 (cf. 39:2 = II Kings 20:13), this building was used as a royal armory. The name "House of the Forest of Lebanon" was given on account of the cedar trunks that formed its pillars. The old idea that it was located in Mount Lebanon and served as a summer residence for the kings (cf. I Kings 9:19) is con-

tradicted by I Kings 7:12, which puts it into the complex on the Temple hill, and by 10:16 f., which shows that the shields borne before the king were kept in it.

The last three buildings, as well as the Inner and the Middle Courts, were included in the Outer Court, or the Great Court, which surrounded all of Solomon's buildings (I Kings 7:12). This was



SITE OF THE HOUSE OF THE FOREST OF LEBANON

inclosed with a wall of three layers of hewn stone, on top of which was a structure of cedar beams. In regard to its gates we have little information. There must have been a North Gate corresponding to the North Gate of the Inner Court. Apparently the two openings were regarded as forming a single gate, and one name served for them both. There must also have been an East Gate corresponding to the East Gate of the Inner Court, and a South Gate leading to the City of David. These, however, are never mentioned. In II Kings 11:16=II Chron. 23:15 we read of the Horse Gate. Jer. 31:40

locates this near a corner of the city on the east. Neh. 3:28 shows that it lay on Ophel over against the Temple. Josephus (*Ant.*, ix, 7:3) suggests that it opened upon the Valley of Kidron. Accordingly, it must have been situated near the southeast corner of the Temple inclosure. Its name shows that it was the gate through which the chariots and horses of the king gained access to the open country.

3. *Millo.*—In I Kings 9:15; 11:27, it is stated that "Solomon built Millo and closed up the break in the city of David his father." Since Millo was already in existence in the time of David, and was used by him as part of his fortification, this statement must mean merely that Solomon strengthened Millo. Probably the rampart which had served as the northern defense of the City of David was used by him as the southern defense of the new palace quarter which he built on Ophel.

SOCIAL DUTIES

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CHAPTER V. SOCIAL DUTY TO WORKINGMEN

I. THE SCOPE OF THE PROBLEM[1]

1. Who are the "workingmen"? Do not all honest folk work? "Workingmen," in the meaning of the word used in this lesson, are those members of the community who, with their families, depend chiefly or entirely on wages for their living, who do not own the materials and machinery with which they labor, do not have a voice in government of mill or factory or shop, and have no right at law in the profits made. Formerly there were comparatively few of this social class; now they constitute a majority of the population of cities and are rapidly growing in numbers. In the country the "farm hands" belong to this class, but they are not yet relatively so numerous. Closely connected in interest with industrial wage-workers are those who are employed in mercantile establishments, minor officials who live on small salaries, and even school-teachers, many of whom receive lower incomes than unskilled laborers at rough work.

2. Why does society owe any special duty to members of this particular group? Because they are in a dependent position; they do not own and control the factories, machines, and raw materials; they cannot give orders; they are subject to discharge at any moment, with or without reason, by the employer; they have no power, unless strongly united, to affect the rules which govern the conditions of health and treatment; their very bodies and minds have become subservient to managers of business. In the case of the unskilled laborers, who are the largest sub-group in this class, the wages are barely sufficient to maintain a meager existence when work is plenty

[1] If the leader of the class desires to have inspiring biblical messages directly in the spirit of this lesson, he will find plenty of them in both Old and New Testaments; for example, in Jas. 5:1–6; Am. 2:6–7; 5:10–15; Zech. 7:8–14; Isa. 3:13–15; 10: 1–2; Deut. 24: 10–15.

and regular; without margin for books, recreation, times of sickness, accident, old age, widowhood, and unemployment.

3. The health, income, and culture of this vast and growing multitude are a national concern. If these people are sickly or weak, and industrial efficiency is lowered, the production of goods is diminished, and the nation is poorer. If some of them are left without income on account of accident, sickness, old age, death of the bread-winner, or unemployment, they must be supported by public or private charity, the cost of which is great and the effect morally degrading. If, through defective education, the children grow up criminals, as many do, the cost is still heavier, and the moral evils wrought by vice, prostitution, and criminal associations poison members of all social classes.

Then the much-discussed "industrial efficiency" of economists, though desirable to the employer and to the entire people, is not the final and highest purpose of any man. The "workingman" is first of all just a man, and his power to produce commodities is not the object of his existence. He has a right to leisure, recreation, family affection, companionship with wife and children, worship, art, literature, music, and all else that is necessary to a human life. And since his relatively dependent position in industry makes his hold on genuine human life insecure, it is the duty of society to help guarantee his rights as a man. The right to liberty is a mockery if it does not carry with it the possibility of leisure and spiritual enjoyments.

4. What are the chief elements of a "social policy" in relation to workingmen? It is the systematic, general, and purposeful plan of a whole community to do its duty to the families in this group. This social purpose is of the essence of the idea. Many things incidentally benefit workingmen which are designed for all citizens, as civil and penal law, ordinary business for profit, sanitary regulations. But this is not a social policy in the meaning of the phrase here used. A "social policy" is the systematic plan and purpose of a whole society, not merely of exceptional philanthropic individual employers and capitalists, here and there. Philanthropy is a very noble sentiment but experience shows that it is capricious, unreliable, uncertain in practice, and may at any moment be withdrawn. That moral purpose of a whole people which is expressed definitely in law is most

worthy of the name of a social policy. That is the highest moral achievement which is accepted by all the people as their will, as expressed through their chosen representatives.

Philanthropic action of rich individuals and limited voluntary associations or corporations may well lead the way in a general movement and may be adopted into the wider scheme. Some remarkably generous employers will often go farther than it would be wise to require by law, but it is still true that such unusual action does not mean a social policy. Just here we are able to see in a concrete situation the difference between mere individual morality and the larger and highest social morality. That which a rich man gives may exhibit his own individual virtue; but only the act and sacrifice of all citizens in bearing a common burden proves solidarity, a really socialized goodness.

5. A social policy is needed to supplement, regulate, and direct individual and voluntary acts of generosity. Individual power has always tended to become arbitrary and selfish. Vested interests are jealous of change and reluctant to accept burdens which may possibly lower dividends. The effort is to shift burdens of cost from one to another; the last man is the workingman, and he cannot shift his load to others. He is at the bottom. Each class of society is naturally inclined to think, and with clear conscience, that a situation in which they have become prosperous and happy must be in all respects wise, reasonable, and right. This is just as true of wage-workers as of capitalists. It is human nature. Each person is tempted to regard facts, laws, customs, and results from the standpoint of self-interest.

If this be a reasonable statement of the essential facts of human nature, society cannot afford to give over the common interest wholly to the sway and control of private interest, and leave private parties to fight out their differences. Society can organize institutions above and independent of the self-interest of individuals and classes; in a legislature all interests may be represented and reconciled. The legislature places the universal interest over the prejudice and greed of persons and classes by establishing laws which are of benefit to all alike; by establishing courts for the settlement of disputes without private war. Civilization brings all clashing acts of egoism before

the common tribunal of a social conscience; lynch law and mobs are indications of a reversion to barbarism and the confusion of frontier ways.

No single man, even if he be at once rich and good, can accomplish much alone. A private association lacks the power to make a good method wide as the nation or state. We must learn to cultivate a higher form of morality, a sense of social obligation and co-operation. This morality demands not only a finer sentiment, but a deeper thought, a wider knowledge, a nobler subordination of selfishness to the largest good. The "individualism" of which many boast often means no more than "die you, live I;" "every man for himself, and the devil take the hindmost." This, in its extreme form, is the morality of beasts of prey who hunt alone. Each man ought to make the most of himself, educate himself, care for himself and his family, it is true; but a man who does no more than that and who does not enter into the wider sweep of social goodness never makes much of himself; he remains small and lives in a little world. The typical "individualist" who remains egoistic is a criminal. He cannot be trusted abroad.

II. ELEMENTS OF A SOCIAL POLICY

1. *Protection against accidents and disease.* — A "social policy" must begin with protection of workingmen against accident and disease and temptations to immorality in factories, mills, and workshops. At this point we simply summarize facts of experience in all modern lands. When most of the people were farmers, and tools were simple, the employer and his "hired hand" toiled as companions side by side; accidents were rare and few causes of disease arose from the nature of the occupation.

All this has changed with the introduction and rapid increase of dangerous, complicated steam-driven machinery; with the use of live wires charged with deadly currents of awful electric power; with ponderous and swift trains; with lofty buildings where men labor at a dizzy height on frames of steel and walls of stone; with bridges spanning swift rivers and dark gorges; with huge mills filled with dust, particles of steel and stone, the air choking with poisonous vapors; with pitiless lathes gripping the hands and merciless saws

mutilating fingers and arms; with huge hammers falling with the force of many giants on the helpless workman, while swinging cranes and bursting crucibles spread death everywhere.

Many kind people do not know these dangers, and the law often permits their concealment. But we ought to know. It is the business of consumers to learn what their good things cost the men who make them.[2] How many good and comfortably pious people have ever thought of such facts as these:

> We are proud of our President for the part he took as international peacemaker in the late war between Japan and Russia; but it can be shown that without doubt the industrial army of the United States suffers 50 per cent. more casualties every year than all the killed and wounded in both Russian and Japanese armies; and our government has taken no action in the premises, no public meetings have been held, no relief subscriptions have been raised, and no societies have been formed for the education of public opinion with a view to putting an end to this slaughter. And all this is true notwithstanding this blood-letting is on our own soil. In these times of profound peace there are in the United States, in the course of four years, 80,000 more violent deaths than were suffered by both armies during the four years of our Civil War. . . . . Facts are given which indicate that the 7,086,000 persons engaged in manufacturing and in mechanical pursuits in this country suffer no less than 344,900 accidents in a year. If the remaining gainful occupations in which some 22,000,000 are engaged should prove to be only one-tenth as dangerous, we should have to add to the above list of casualties upward of 100,000 more.[3]

When we add the 94,000 casualities in a single year which the Interstate Commerce Commission reports, it swells the grand total to nearly 550,000.

But this is not all. Many diseases are inevitably caused by the process of industry, from dust, microbes, infection, close confinement, exposure to tuberculosis and other communicable diseases. This means another source of frightful waste of strength and time and death of the bread-winners.

[2] Here is a field for investigation for the class. Members may visit rolling-mills, mines, quarries, factories, and study the dangers of these places. When they are halted before the usual sign "No admission," they can make their inquiries of the families of workmen who have been hurt, of physicians who practice among them, of pastors and nurses and charity visitors who are familiar with the situation. In the second place, they can read the descriptions given in magazines and books. Reports of factory inspectors are useful for this purpose.

[3] See *Social Service*, August, 1906.

Even this is not all. On the average two or three persons, wife, children, aged parents, when thus deprived of their natural support fall soon into mental and physical distress, and many of them would perish did they not take refuge in begging from house to house or by hiding their heads in the poorhouses. All the numbers must be multiplied by two or more to set forth the full extent of misery caused by these casualities of labor. Workshops in hazardous industries resemble battlefields.

A "social policy" must include first a scheme of protection against accidents and diseases, so far as this is possible by law, and then indemnity or source of income when accidents and diseases which cannot be prevented have deprived the workman and his family of the means of subsistence. In this article there is room only for a brief outline of measures of the first kind, protection.[4]

A complete system of labor laws would cover all the dangers here indicated; but, as a matter of fact, the regulations in many of our states include only a small part of these. Some states are far more backward than others. Naturally the laws and regulations ought to vary in adaptation to the circumstances of each district. For example, if a state has no mines of coal or metal ores or quarries of stone, it does not need mining laws and organization of inspectors of mines. In general, the following points need to be covered and provisions made for their enforcement.

2. *The labor contract.*—The labor contract, by which workmen enter service for wages, ought to be carefully guarded by law. There is need of free employment agencies everywhere to make it easy for workmen to discover quickly and without cost the places where they are needed, without having to pay large fees to private concerns which cheat them and do not help them. Private employment agencies are sometimes respectable, but they require careful supervision and must be licensed by the authorities. Probably the majority of such agencies in cities are evil, some of them active in promoting vice.[5]

[4] The actual laws already in force in the United States may be found in the volume entitled *Labor Laws of the United States*, Tenth Special Report of the Commissioner of Labor (Washington, 1904), and in the later Bulletins of the Bureau of Labor.

[5] See Francis A. Kellor, *Out of Work*.

The law should define such matters as the length of a day's work and the rate of wages, where there is no explicit contract; so that the legal claim of the wage-earner may be fixed in case of dispute. The duties and liabilities of both parties in case of cessation of employment by leaving or discharge should be defined by law.

3. *Payment of wages.*—The workingman needs legal protection in respect to payment of wages. Employers have at times sought to oppress the hireling by paying wages in inferior money, or in "truck," or by orders on stores in which inferior goods are sold at excessive prices. Ordinarily, the wages should be paid in lawful money. The place of payment is also important. It should never be in a saloon or other resort where there is a temptation to immorality and excess. The poor man needs his pay at frequent intervals, for he cannot wait long and his credit will not endure a great strain. The law should require payment at least once or twice a month. Self-interest has introduced frauds in the measurement of work done and the pay awarded; and so laws must be made to provide checks against these indirect methods of stealing earnings. Another device of selfishness is to get the workman into debt, charge him heavy interest, and practically take back much of his earnings under cover of claims as creditor. Fines are often imposed and are sometimes necessary for shop discipline, but they must be carefully restricted by law. In order to secure the payment of wages the mechanic is frequently given a prior right, a lien, on the building or commodity, so that he must be paid whether his employer is solvent or not.

4. *Protection of working children.*—Working children[6] must be protected in a very special way. They are young and ignorant as well as dependent; manufacturers are everywhere found willing to employ them because they do not demand high wages and will take what is offered, and ignorant or lazy or poverty-driven parents will send them to the factory for the sake of their little earnings. This is evil and unnecessary. Young children need to grow strong by play, and to secure an education at least of an elementary character before they are set at the steady, exhausting, and dangerous tasks of

[6] Send for the latest information on the protection of children to Professor S. M. Lindsay, secretary of the National Child Labor Committee, 105 East Twenty-second Street, New York City.

the shop. The more enlightened and humane peoples in Europe and America have already guarded against these perils, which would destroy the nation in its weakest members if not arrested, by enacting laws which forbid parents to permit their children to leave school until they are fourteen years of age, and have reached a certain weight and height, and have enjoyed the privileges of school with the acquirement of ability to read and write and use their minds. From some employments children are properly excluded under all circumstances, as in occupations immoral or dangerous, as acrobatic exhibitions, street begging, selling of alcohol. Night work has been found destructive of the health and morality of children.

And when children are permitted to work for wages, as during school vacations and after the fifteenth year or earlier, it has been found necessary to restrict the length of the work-day, to compel employers to permit them to rest at noon, to prohibit under penalty the appointment of foremen whose character is unfit for contact with children, and to prescribe the physical conditions which surround the young worker.

5. *Protection of working women.*—The women workers in factories and other public places are increasing in numbers in this country, and will be still more numerous in the future. They are exposed to dangers to which men are not liable and for which men are often to blame. They cannot protect themselves, and the law of our country is their proper defense against the greed of employers, the demands of an unreasonable public, and the rude selfishness of unprincipled men. In order to care for children to whom they will give birth, many girls and women need to be protected even against the consequences of their own ignorance and folly. On the average, women cannot work so many hours a day nor so many days in the year as men, yet they may be driven by custom and by competition to consent, even at cost of health, to work long hours beyond their strength. This is at the cost of the national health and must be prevented. Law is the only method open. The hours permitted must be prescribed by legal direction, the pauses for rest must be fixed for various employments, night work in public places prohibited, and proper facilities provided for those who are fatigued to lie down in a decent room for temporary rest. Before and after the time of the birth of

children the mothers should be prevented by regulations of inspectors from working under conditions ruinous to their own health and to that of their offspring.

It is a necessity of public welfare that the character and conduct of foremen in control of women and girl workers shall be suitable and moral; that women be forbidden to sell alcoholic liquors, or be in attendance in dancing-halls and theaters where vice is fostered by the very conditions. For a long time, largely due to the energy and devotion of the great Christian statesman and friend of the oppressed, the Earl of Shaftesbury, women have been forbidden to enter coal-mines and such places where the situation tended to degrade them and the men. Our more advanced states require mercantile establishments to provide seats for girls in their employ and to permit their use when it is not quite necessary to stand up in order to serve customers. Health and morality, as well as aesthetic considerations, require that halls be lighted, and that separate, tidy, and sanitary retiring-rooms be provided. The best employers have done this voluntarily, and are glad to do more than any law will demand; and that which a good employer willingly does, all others should be compelled to do or go out of business. There are enough bright and capable, decent men in this nation to make all its goods and sell them.

Only passing mention can be made here of the desirability of regulating the labor contracts of foreigners, the employment of convicts so as to avoid competition with free workmen, and the special duty of cities and states to set an example to other employers by humane treatment of their own employees. It may be interjected that humanity and justice do not ask of public officers that they permit the servants of the public to become idle and negligent, and so cheat taxpayers by drawing salaries without return in service.[7]

6. *Factory and workshop regulations.*[8]—A complete modern system of regulations will cover: requirements relating to preserving health; the important matters of the soil over which the workplace is built; the space for air within the room, and of light in the openings

[7] Members of the class may inquire and observe how some clerks in city halls, state houses, and other similar places *do not* work.

[8] Good examples of such laws are those of Massachusetts, New York, Minnesota, and some others; found in *Labor Laws* (1904) published by the Bureau of Labor. The British code is still more complete.

of the wall; proper sanitary arrangements for decency and cleanliness; guarding against the breathing of poisonous vapors and dust, by means of exhaust fans, veils, and other devices; places for bathing in shops where the skin is exposed to poisoning; suitable care of heat, cold, and ventilation; and where the occupation is exhausting, a limitation of time for each period of labor, so that the body may recover frequently from the strain.

It is also necessary to command employers to provide and workmen to use devices to defend their eyes from injury and their limbs from mutilation, as by eye-covers, guards at dangerous points of machinery, protection against fire, solidity of buildings, and convenient fire-escapes, elevators, and staircases.

In the best codes of state laws may be found the regulations for the protection of life and limb in particular industries, as in mines, on railroads, and in tenement houses. It is the duty of every citizen, man and woman, to know enough about the best codes and the code of his own state that he may help in securing the best regulations for every state, and help see that they are enforced. The same principle holds in respect to mercantile establishments and domestic helpers, the workmen on farms, and those engaged in building operations.

7. *Protection of legal rights.*—Another part of the social policy of a state must include the protection of workingmen and working women in their right to assemble, form unions to advance their interests, just as capitalists always have done, by peaceable and lawful persuasion and instruction; and at the same time defend the non-union workers from assault and the property of all from injury.

In case of disputes over the interpretation of the wages' contract, there is great need of boards of conciliation and arbitration, and courts with simple procedure and without cost to the parties, for decision of questions which constantly cause irritation and hatred. We have outgrown the frontier method of settling disputes by fighting in the street, and such methods cannot be tolerated; therefore an impartial and public tribunal is necessary to arbitrate between the interested parties, who are apt to be blinded by self-interest.

A civilized, not to say a Christian, community will insist on weekly periods of rest for all classes of workers as a condition of national health. After long neglect Germany and France have at last intro-

duced rather strict regulations on this subject in order to promote national vigor and power.

8. *Industrial insurance.*—The subject of insurance of workingmen and the provision for support in times of sickness, accident, unemployment, invalidism, and old age, or death of bread-winner, cannot be more than mentioned in this place. For a hundred years modern peoples tried to depend on individual initiative to secure the poorer workmen in such situations, and every effort has failed. Nothing short of state regulation and organization has succeeded in any country. America has been very slow to recognize this fact, but seems just now to be awakening to the demand for a form of insurance required by persons on small and uncertain incomes, and cheap enough for them to buy. There is a movement in the United States to promote this needed agency of the public welfare, for it will not do to leave the laborers to their fate and to offer them alms when they ought to have a just claim on a fund to which they have contributed and can use in need without shame or disgrace.

9. *Provisions for the higher life.*—This social policy in the interest of the workingmen includes far more than protection of life, limb, and health. If the reader will turn back to the first article in this series, he may find there proof that humanity demands, not only health and income, but the goods of highest civilization—culture, art, religion. Social morality is not satisfied until every member of the community has a chance to enjoy every kind of good which the richest can enjoy. And this is quite possible. The best goods are not costly, for automobiles and display of jewels are not at all the best things in life; while love, pictures, music, and religion are of the highest, and by co-operation of all may be brought so near to every citizen and youth that they will provoke desire to possess them all. It is the moral and religious duty of a city, of a state, and of the nation to furnish the agencies of such co-operation; for it is utterly impossible for any individual to secure them for himself without joining hands with all others. In this lesson we have considered chiefly those measures which are absolutely necessary to protect life itself; but we must proceed to consider methods by which the entire community can act together to enrich life thus preserved, and to make it grandly, nobly human. This part of the subject is so wide that it must be reserved for special discussion.

Man cannot live without bread, but he cannot truly live by bread alone.

TOPICS FOR STUDY AND DISCUSSION

These have been sufficiently indicated by the titles of the sections of this chapter. But in some classes discussions may arise over trade-unions, injunctions, treatment of non-union workmen, a just wage, Sunday rest, and many others. Probably, however, the topics suggested in the chapter will be enough for the discussions of many Sundays. The class should remember the adage: "Truth is a precious pearl which divers can find only in calm water." When temper comes in, reason departs. A Christian should be willing to hear all sides fairly and soberly.

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THE CHILD-MIND AND CHILD-RELIGION

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I. THE CHILD-CONSCIOUSNESS AND HUMAN PROGRESS

During an ocean voyage I had to witness three times a day, and hear from a stateroom just opposite, a process of slow infanticide. A mother—a loving mother, she seemed to be—was feeding a pale-faced child of a year and a half whatever it wanted from her own plate. The baby's already "cultivated" taste swung in the direction of coffee, fish, salads, pickles, and desserts. I learned that this was the fifth child, and the only survivor of the number. "God had taken" the others in their tender years. It seemed certain that he would soon rescue this one also from a world of pain and evil.

This mother's ideas, evidently, could be summed up in three principles: first, that a child should have whatever it wants; second, that food is food; and, third, that children are constructed on essentially the same lines as adults, and whatever is food for the elders is food also for the children. These principles, all of them more false than true, are essentially the same that are observed in dispensing mental and spiritual food to children. I longed to save in some way the innocent little creature on the steamer from the fate that so surely awaited it; but, with all the tactfulness I was able to command, any suggestions were regarded as an interference, if not an impertinence. I have a profound wish, as deep-going as my hope for the perfection of the human kind, that our children should have the right spiritual nourishment. Most of them are ill-fed and starving for want of any sustenance whatsoever.

No parent would be so thoughtless as to suppose that a little child might safely be thrown out upon its own resources and shift for itself in securing food and raiment. No less misguided are the *laissez-faire* doctrines in regard to religion and morals. Parents and teachers are among the choicest products of evolution. There was a time when parental care did not exist, as is true at present among lower kinds, and the offspring must rely upon instinct, external nature, luck

and numbers for getting on and preserving the species. It has now become a selected utility that the offspring should be born very helpless and depend less for their well-being upon natural law and chance, and more upon the loving care and thoughtful providence of parents and teachers. In the midst of the intimate relationship in family and school, the lives of all concerned are softened, enriched, deepened, and ennobled. The span of the growing life of parents is extended and the inner qualities are beautified, and at the same time the children as they have become more helpless, have become likewise more docile and receptive, and have acquired the habit of learning and of making new adjustments, which are the conditions of progress. These qualities have proved so useful that in the course of evolution, as the students of our past agree, children have become more and more helpless, the period of infancy has become longer and longer, and the function of parents who provide, guide, and protect more indispensable. That parent who does not accept with all fulness of heart this responsibility is dropping backward and undoing the divine purposes which have been running through the ages. The *laissez-faire* doctrine of the idea of education according to nature is good ethics among mollusks, fish, and some of the reptiles. It still remains a law for the human species, but it has been overshadowed by the higher laws of love and responsibility.

The simpler the type of life and the "lower"—that is, the more distinctly physiological—the function in question, the more safely can the infant be guided by the direction nature has provided for it through instinct. The successes of its forbears in meeting the struggle of life are recorded within it at birth. It is traveling over well-trodden paths that are not easily mistaken. In the case of the "higher" reactions the case is otherwise. Religion and morality are among the later acquisitions of the species. The paths leading into these more refined attainments are less certain, and the chances of leading away into by-paths or of missing the way entirely are much greater. The successes of individuals of reacting and embodying in their characters the good, true, and beautiful, instead of being recorded so inviolably in the structure and tendency to function of the infant at birth, are registered relatively more in persons, books, institutions, and customs. It is for the teacher and parent in these spheres, even

more than in matters of food and raiment, to lead the children, with what tact and wisdom they may possess, over doubtful ways and into the straight and narrow paths along which righteousness is to be attained. Unless a parent or teacher is entirely indifferent to the ends toward which Nature has been working in bringing about the helplessness of children, and fastening upon the race the institutions of the family and the school, he must regard his function as a divine calling.

The providence for children must not be simply general. It must be special. Love in the abstract will not save the bodies or souls of the little ones. The question should be: What specifically does this child need, and what are the occupations and interests that will be food for his mind and heart? If his spiritual diet is too highly spiced, as, for example, with stories which invariably excite the imagination, or is overloaded with a surplus of dogmatic pellets, the outcome is not wholesome. With natures of slight initiative the result is likely to be pallor and anaemia and, with vigorous souls, a reaction. A wise mother will not give a tiny infant unconverted starches, knowing that it has no means of changing them into the elements of nutrition. She should know equally well that much of the materials now used in the religious instruction of children is after the pattern of that which adults have found to their liking, and if administered to children will be as disastrous as to feed the baby from her own plate. She will not expect a baby to learn the catechism, nor a youth in the teens to have his heart refreshed by the inner verities of religion through faith without reason, after the manner of the mystic. There is an instinct in the young of birds that causes them, long after they have attained the proportions of the parents and are hopping and flying everywhere, to refrain from seeking their own food. They wait, no matter how impatiently, for the parent birds to bring them the right morsels. They are learning the wisdom of their elders. There is an instinct in the parents that teaches them just what food is best. Little children have, likewise, instinctively an attitude of credulity, imitativeness, confidence, and open-eyed wonder, which show that they too are giving to parents and teachers a constant opportunity to exercise their office. It is not right to throw into their open and receptive natures almost indiscriminately a deal of anything at hand and call it spiritual

food. Would that parents and teachers might attain a wisdom to supplement the impulses of a loving heart and guide them as inviolably as is the bird guided in its selection of the right materials.

The gravest error in religious education is to regard religion as the *given* fact and the child as something that must be brought in some way into relation with it. Too often religion is looked upon as a finished product, such and such an amount of which is to be interjected into the mind of the child; or it is a fixed something into which the child shall be forced to enter. The mind of man is ever making shackles and prison-houses out of the products of its own thought. Thus it was that the Romans of the middle class came to look upon the *Aeneid* of Virgil as a complete revelation, and the Hindus to look upon the early Vedas as a final dispensation; the Schoolmen during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries would not look beyond the writings of Aristotle, and the Jews were bent upon doing their sacrifices while their hearts were far from Jehovah. Thus it is that idolatry has flourished everywhere and at all times. Thus it is that in secular education in every age the interest must be called away from the fetish, the curriculum, to a loving care for the life of children. Individual men to a greater or less degree have found the deeper life of the Spirit springing up in their hearts. This *product*, so often called "religion," is the record of their personal successes in finding life. These successes must repeat themselves ever anew in the heart of each child. The most real of all real things is not a code, or a sacred writing, or an institution, but a growing life. These others are the mere imprints of its triumphs. The end in view in religious education is not to teach the Bible: it is to *use* the Bible just in so far as that may be the means by which each child shall come into its spiritual heritage and find itself, and in so doing find the Father. Such was the thought of the Master when he likened the kingdom of heaven to growing things, as seeds or a tree or leaven; such was the mind of Paul in calling his brethren temples of the living God. The great spiritual deliverers have been iconoclasts against sacrifice, ritualism, whitened sepulchers, and all kinds of externalism, and have revealed ever afresh the majesty of the life of the Spirit as it springs forth in the heart of man. It may be the victory of the present age, by discovering the minds of children and observing their needs, to

save men from entering the bondage of the products of their own thought, rather than to rescue them from the confines which tradition and their own inertia have constructed about themselves. If children can have such spiritual food as they need and can assimilate, it is possible that the habit of growth may be so fastened upon them from earliest childhood that their minds shall not be burdened with a mass of more or less meaningless tradition. If the reader should object that our methods of education must have been good, else we could not have reached our present attainment, I would call attention to the fact that the stock of vitality of a child is such that it will flourish, given half a chance, *in spite of* the food it takes into its system and cannot assimilate. We are to look ahead to the fuller life that *may* be for our children, rather than to glory in that which through pain and struggle has become our heritage. We are in danger, not only of putting new wine into old bottles, but of trying to nourish the lives of the new generation upon the old bottles themselves.

The body of tradition is, of course, our greatest asset. It points the way toward truth and life. It is at the same time like the inheritance of the son of a wealthy sire, a source of greatest danger. Moving down upon each generation as it does, like the slow but relentless motion of a great glacier, it has so filled our eyes that it has caused us not only to lose sight in large measure of children as children, but has led us to false conceptions of what they are. Almost every nation has had its paradise from which man has been separated, and its Revelation of truth in the past. Nations, like individuals, cherish in memory the good and relegate into oblivion the pain and evil. Against this primitive perfection, and its counterpart in a transcendent present, is set a "natural" order. This latter is somehow a dissevered fragment from the universe where God dwells; as if it were possible to conceive, as Bruno taught, that we might have a "universe" and, in addition, a "world." God is thus apart from the world, and the soul is separate and distinct from the mind and body which are earthy.

The child is born into this "natural" world. He can enter the world of "grace" only by an arbitrary (so far as his natural life is concerned) act of redemption. This mediaeval conception, which by a certain irony came to bear the name of the founder of Christianity, has gradually, since the Renaissance, been losing its hold on

the minds of men. It is now in a fair way to disappear entirely, except in so far as it contains a shade of truth, in the face of the universal acceptance of the idea of a developing universe. This conception has come to include an entire order in whole and in part. There are no scattered pieces. Whatever purpose there is is working out its will everywhere. Under the impetus of such a profound conception the belief in divine immanence seems to be taking the place of that of an "absentee" God who rules in a transcendent kingdom. It is impossible longer, except by the grossest inconsistency, to regard an infant simply as born in sin and a creature of evil. On the contrary, he is a being with a divine lineage. He is born in the image of God because of the fact of heredity, and he partakes of that out of whose life he has sprung. Indeed, since the purpose that runs through the ages has been selecting out and magnifying the period of helpless childhood, there are thereby shown both the utility to the species and the sacredness of infancy. The fact of infancy makes possible the conservation of the past and contains within itself the possibility of progress. Hence it is that the whole attitude toward religious education is changing. Its justification is in the simple and basal facts of developing life. Its purpose is no longer to rescue children from the world for the sake of a glorious heaven and their joy therein. It is to take the child with its divine inheritance, give it the impress of the wisdom of the past, and start it surely in the direction of the richer and fuller life of the spirit that each new generation is permitted to enter. Around this central ideal of divine perfection which has its sanction in the very nature of life itself, the older ends of religious education are still operative, to be sure, as superadded incentives.

If the dignity of childhood had been restored to its rightful place through an enlarged outlook upon the world, and by an interpretation of the meaning of infancy as the condition of progress, the high estimation of its worth has been justified also through the study of the facts of child-life. A study of the child soon after birth in comparison with adults and other animals seems to set it forth as the culmination of the developmental series up to the present point of evolution.[1] The species may be arranged in an ascending series according to the length of the jaw in proportion to other dimensions of the head. One

[1] See for example, Havelock Ellis, *Man and Woman*, p. 32 ff.

may select the alligator, dog, ape, savage man, and civilized man to suggest the series. Woman will project the series, and the baby will complete it with the shortest jaw of all. In roundness of the skull, prominence of the frontal arch and cranial capacity, woman again, who, as anthropologists agree, is closer to the racial type, completes the series, with the exception of the child who projects it far in advance. So it is with other characteristics, as hairlessness, number of teeth, proportion of head to the rest of the body, dimension of limbs, smoothness of skin, and the like. It seems to be literally true, in many respects, that "the advance from childhood is a growth in degeneration." When we take also into consideration the mental qualities, the perfection of childhood appears as something more than a mere selected device of nature to insure parental care through love of offspring, and the fact of its perfection far more than a product of the imagination of a proud father and crooning mother. The mind of the little child is a unity; it will soon see the world piecemeal and express its life bit by bit. It is full of grace and spontaneity; it will become angular and awkward. Not, if it should later study all the arts of expression, can it equal the facial and other gestures of the years from one to three. It is loving, joyous, exuberant, hopeful, and trustful. It is hungry to know, with its mind open to all truth. In most characteristics it typifies that toward which the adults struggle more or less in vain after having left the paradise of childhood. In so far as this is true, we shall have to go behind the dictum of the biologists who say that *woman is the race*, and admit that, even in higher degree, the child stands as the type of the deeper life of the race and symbolizes the higher perfection toward which it is tending. With fuller appreciation can it be recalled that Jesus, with all the tenderness of his great heart, took a child and loved it because he saw reflected in it the highest perfection. It is safe to presume that he loved it not only for what it symbolized, but likewise for what it was.

The right attitude toward children is the true starting-point for effecting their culture. Taken alone, a loving heart is not sufficient. Other things equal, the child of a loving parent is as likely to starve or to waste itself as that of another. The attachment of a bird or beast to its offspring frees a wonderful train of instinctive responses adapted to protecting, providing for, and tutoring the young. Love

in the human species should discharge into the same series of consequences, and should arouse in addition a set of thought-reactions limited only by the capacity of the mind itself. An essential difference between man and brute is the degree with which the former is able to supplement instinct by reason. In so far as his arts perfect themselves, each has its correlative "science." Bridge-building was originally an art purely. It has developed until it involves practically all man's organized knowledge of physics, mathematics, and mechanics. So it is with the arts of stock-breeding, plant-culture, medicine, preparation of foods, and even of painting, music, and secular education. As each instinctive or empirical activity has assumed large significance, it has had to clarify itself by becoming thoughtful. It is important to bear in mind that the "science" of any department of human activity is not, in any sense, a body of made-up principles superimposed upon it from the outside; the "science," on the contrary, is only the record of processes of inner refinement of that activity. The scientific aspects of medicine, for example, are not made out of hand and brought to bear upon the practice; they are simply the product of the account that experience has taken of its own successes and failures and the formulation of these into principles as the inner history of this particular body of experience has grown more complicated and self-consistent. Reason itself is just the form that the complication of the manifold of instinct tendencies has taken in the midst of the necessity of getting on in a complex world. In this point of view it should not be possible for any person to depreciate the attempts that are being made, in the interest of the spiritual development of children, to formulate the facts of child-consciousness. Nor should it be possible for a scientist in high office, as has recently been done, to speak and write on the clean-cut separation that should be made between science and life, and between psychology in particular and any direct utility it may subserve to those interested in child-culture. A "science" of child-nature and of child-culture, for which we must still look to the future, is as inevitable as for a healthy tree in a wholesome environment to bear fruit.

It has become impossible, almost the world over, for a man to practice medicine without knowing much of the details of anatomy

and physiology. In the manual arts it has been shown that, while the technically trained laborers are at first at a disadvantage in the wages they can earn, they are shortly earning more than four times the amount of untrained laborers; and the wages may be regarded as an index of efficiency. An artist chooses to master the technique of his art, if he aspires to become a master-artist. It must ultimately be true that no person will undertake to educate children in religion, nor a minister of the gospel presume to guide the spiritual destinies of young men and women, who has not mastered as well as he may the laws of mental growth, the nature of the religious impulse, and its relation to the other facts of consciousness. Only so can he be a workman that needeth not to be ashamed. It must in all fairness be acknowledged that we know little as yet about the mental life. Nor does the botanist know much of plants compared with what he hungers to know; he has, however, enough facts at his command to give something of an insight into plant-life by which he feels that he is living the life of plants somewhat from the inside, and not simply looking *at* them from without. Enough is already known about children to make it possible for a parent or teacher to have a warm inner feeling for them, so that the efforts in religious instruction, instead of being of the general hit-and-miss character, may possess the quality of being in tune with the profounder purposes of nature and leading most surely in the direction of true ideals.

THE BAPTISM OF JOHN—WHERE WAS IT?

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One of the chief puzzles of New Testament geography is the identification of the sites of the Baptist's ministry. The Synoptic Gospels are indefinite on this point, although we should expect them to be explicit on the locality where Jesus according to their report was baptized and received the call to his messianic work, rather than the Fourth Gospel, which passes over Jesus' baptism with something less than an allusion,[1] and carries back the messianic call to the pre-incarnate state. It belongs, however, among the distinctive traits of the Fourth Gospel that it is at once far more explicit in regard to the Baptist's ministry, and more careful to define its subordinate relation to that of Jesus. Thus the Fourth Gospel mentions neither the birth nor the death of the great Forerunner, and only casually alludes to his imprisonment (3:24); it takes pains to forestall the superstitious beliefs current already before the crucifixion as to the Baptist being Elijah, rising from the dead, and working great miracles (Mark 6:14, 15),[2] by placing in the Baptist's own mouth a plain denial of any superhuman character, in particular that of Elias (1:21), and in the mouth of contemporary witnesses a denial of miracle on his part (10:41). On the other hand, it is more careful than any other exactly to localize and describe John's ministry, though it pays no attention to his summons of sinners to a "baptism of repentance," and declares it the sole object of his baptism to direct Israel

[1] John 1:33. Those who are accustomed to notice only the coincidences, but not the differences, of the gospel reports might easily overlook the fact that the Fourth Gospel does not even admit that Jesus was baptized. John simply saw the Spirit descending and remaining on him. Thus the objection so keenly felt by our first evangelist (Matt. 3:14) disappears entirely. On the other hand, a whole series of passages in the Fourth Gospel (John 1:8, 20, 21, 30, 31; 3:28–30; 5:33, 34; 16:41) show how anxious this evangelist was to correct an exaggerated estimate of the Baptists' importance. We know, in fact, of certain followers of the Baptist in Ephesus, who as late as Paul's time were ignorant of the Christian doctrine of the baptism of the Spirit (Acts 18:24—19:5).

[2] These beliefs regarding the coming of Elias, his *martyrdom* at the hands of the tyrant, his *wonder-working* and *resurrection from the dead*, are known to us, not only by obscure references in the New Testament (Mark 9:13; Luke 16:30 f; John 5:43; Rev. 11:3–12), but explicitly in the book of *Jewish Antiquities* by Pseudo-Philo.

to the Lamb of God that did "take away the sin of the world" (1:25–27). We may reasonably infer from these marked contrasts of the fourth evangelist with the Synoptists in their treatment of the ministry of John, that if the former gives more exact data as to the regions wherein it took place, it was for good reasons connected with his general attitude on the subject. Whatever may be thought of his spiritualized portrait of the Christ, avowedly drawn *sub specie aeternitatis*, his effort regarding the Baptist is as plainly historical and matter-of-fact as the most exacting critic could ask. The Ephesian followers of the Baptist, if any still remained in our fourth evangelist's day, would in fact have every right to look upon him as a "destructive critic." The Fourth Gospel declares that the place of John's baptizing "at the first," where he gave his explicit testimony against the exaggerated notions of his own personality, and in favor of the messiahship of Jesus, was "Bethany[3] beyond Jordan" (1:28; 10:40). It specifies with equal exactitude the place of his second still more explicit testimony (3:23–30) as "Aenon, near to Salim," a place chosen "because there was much water there." Unfortunately neither place has been identified, and the help received from the Synoptic Gospels is slight indeed. Our present purpose is to examine both the literary and the geographical data in relation to (1) "Bethany beyond Jordan," (2) "Aenon, near to Salim."

The Synoptic Gospels owe their designation to the interdependence of their statements, so that the first step in taking their testimony is to ascertain, if possible, its earliest form. This earliest form we may set down at once, without engaging in critical processes, as the great utterance of Jesus himself regarding the Baptist, coincidently reported in Matt. 11:2–19 and Luke 7:18–35. It is needless to question the great result of modern gospel-criticism which makes the biographical outline of our first and third gospels dependent on our second. This may well be taken as a permanent acquisition. But it does not by any means follow that Mark's descriptions and narrations are given at first hand. It is our "oldest gospel," written but shortly, perhaps

[3] The reading Bethabara would be very convenient, because Bethabara can readily be located at the modern ford of Abara close to Beisan on the Jordan. Only it is not "beyond Jordan," and as its occurrence is only in later MSS open to the suspicion of being affected by Origen, who had found no place named Bethany on the Jordan, its very convenience is fatal as accounting too readily for its presence.

very shortly, after the death of Peter; but that is still a long way from contemporary witness. Tradition, traceable back to the borders of the first century itself, is explicit in saying that Mark received his information at second hand; and the internal evidence bears out the tradition. A careful comparison of his description of the baptism of John (which in the nature of the case he could not be supposed to derive from Peter's discourses to which he is said to have listened) with the great discourse of Jesus on the prophet will show the true derivation of the data of Mark 1:4–6, on which the other two Synoptists have in turn based their description. If Mark adds anything to the data of Matt. 11:7–15, it must be scrutinized. He himself having had no personal knowledge, it will be due either to report or to inference, and often its internal character will decide.

We must add, however, one further reflection. The discourse of Matt. 11:7–15 appears to be intimately related to that of Matt. 21:28–32, which seems to be rightly placed in its present location among the great disputes with the scribes *at Jerusalem* (cf. vss. 23–27). Perhaps, then, Matt. 11:7–15 stood once in this connection, and the multitudes of whom Jesus demanded, "What went ye out into the wilderness to see?" and toward whom he assumed the defiant tone of Matt. 11:11–15, were the same *Jerusalem* hierarchs against whom he launches the defiance of Matt. 21:23–46. If so, Mark's phrases, "all the Judean region and the Jerusalemites" and "in the river Jordan," need have had no independent source. The words of Jesus, "Ye went forth into the wilderness," "the baptism of John," "This was Elias," "John came neither eating bread nor drinking wine," gave all the data required for Mark's description. Critics employ today the symbol Q (*Quelle*) for this common material of Matthew and Luke, which we must place side by side with the derived description of Mark 1:1–6 in order to demonstrate the relation. Of course, the description of the appearance and preaching of the Baptist in canonical Matthew and Luke (Matt. 3:1–11 = Luke 3:1–16) is in turn based upon Mark 1:1–6, with additions from another section of Q. We place accordingly in one column the discourses of Jesus on the Baptist from Q (restored from Matt. 21:23–32; 11:7–19 and Luke 7:24–35; 16:16), and in the other Mark's description, italicizing in the latter the phrases demonstrably borrowed.

(Q Matt. 21:23–32; 11:7–19 = Luke 7:24–35; 16:16)

And Jesus answered . . . . [25] "The Baptism of John, whence was it, from heaven, or of men?"

[26](They feared the multitude for all held John as a prophet) . . . . [31]Jesus saith unto them, "Verily I say unto you that the publicans and the harlots go into the kingdom of heaven before you. [32]For John came unto you in the way of righteousness, and ye believed him not: but the publicans and the harlots believed him: and ye, when ye saw it, did not even repent yourselves afterward, that ye might believe him."

[7]And as these went their way, Jesus began to say unto the multitudes concerning John. "What went ye out into the wilderness to behold? A reed shaken with the wind? [8]But what went ye out for to see? A man clothed in soft raiment? Behold they that wear soft raiment are in king's houses. [9]But wherefore went ye out? To see a prophet? Yea I say unto you, and much more than a prophet. [10]This is he of whom it is written,

'Behold I send my messenger before thy face,
Who shall prepare thy way before thee.'

Verily I say unto you, Among them that are born of of women there hath not arisen a greater than John the Baptist: yet he that is but little in the kingdom of heaven is greater than he. [12]And from the days of John the Baptist until now the kingdom of heaven suffereth violence and men of violence take it by force.[4] [13]For all the prophets and the law prophesied until John. [14]And if ye are willing to receive it, this is Elijah which is to come. [15]He that hath ears to hear, let him hear. . . . . For John came neither eating nor drinking, and they say He hath a devil. [19]The Son of man came eating[5] and drinking, and they say, Behold, a gluttonous man, and a winebibber, a friend of publicans and sinners![6]

Mark 1:1–6

[1]Origin of the gospel of Jesus Christ.

[2]As it is written in Isaiah the prophet:

Behold, I send my messenger before thy face,
Who shall prepare thy way;

[3]The voice of one crying in the wilderness,
Make ye ready the way of the Lord,
Make his paths straight;

[4]John came, who *baptized in the wilderness* and preached the *baptism of repentance* unto remission of sins. [5]And there *went out unto him all the country of Judaea and all they of Jerusalem;* and they were baptized of him in the river Jordan, confessing their sins (cf. Luke 3:10–14). [6]And John *was clothed with* camel's hair, and had a leathern girdle about his loins (so Elijah in II Kings 1:8), *and did eat* locusts and wild honey. (Cf. Mark 2:16–20 where Jesus is attacked for "*eating and drinking with publicans and sinners*" and neglect of the fasts of "John's disciples.")

[4] On the significance of this utterance, paralleled in Luke 16:16 see my article, "Elias and the Men of Violence," *Expositor*, VI, xxxi (July, 1902), pp. 31–36.

[5] In the Lucan form the evidence of Mark's dependence is stronger, and extends even to the Greek. In Luke 7:33 we have for "eating" (twice) the rare form ἔσθων. This is taken over in Mark 1:6, though occurring nowhere else in New Testament literature outside of Luke.

[6] In the common, written Greek source underlying Matt. 11:2–19 and Luke 7:

It is a principle of logic that no larger supposition shall be made than is sufficient to account for the phenomena in question. As the implications of this discourse will easily account for all the synoptic data regarding the place of John's baptism, we may confine our attention to it, as the only source (with one exception) to be set in comparison with the data of the Fourth Gospel. It may seem as if it afforded very little; but if we are willing to let our ordinary assumptions be corrected by dispassionate scrutiny of the text, it will be apparent that it does correct current assumptions in one very important particular. Jesus addresses the multitudes as impelled to "go forth" either by pure curiosity, or (in the case of the publicans and sinners) by the sense of moral need. They go forth to one who, so far from seeking them, had himself taken refuge under an impulse more or less akin to the latter motive "in the wilderness." The current modern idea, taking its impulse from Luke 3:2–6, represents almost the contrary. John is depicted as a rousing evangelist, who sounds the awakening trumpet in the ears of his generation—a Jonah to a careless Nineveh. Which is right? We have only to compare the Baptist's own words of greeting to the multitudes that sought him out, to see that the language of Jesus' discourse is alone appropriate. "When he saw the multitudes (Matthew less correctly "the Pharisees and Sadducees") coming out to be baptized of him, John said to them: 'Ye generation of vipers, *who warned you to flee* from the coming wrath?'" He has not warned them; they are fleeing to him. The scene is such as we can best depict to ourselves from the statement of an almost contemporary writer regarding the disposition of Jerusalemites of his own time toward a "holy man" of the wilderness, who, if not a conscious imitator of the Baptist, at least illustrates what the feeling was toward such an anchorite or *dervish*, as he would be called today. Josephus in his autobiography (I, 2) informs us how at the age of sixteen (43 A. D.) he followed the ascetic life of the Essenes in the Judean wilderness:

18–35, reflected as we have seen in Mark 1:2–6; 2:13–22, those who go their way (Matt. 11:17) may well have been the Pharisees and Sadducees rebuked in Matt. 21:23–32. In the present setting of Matthew and Luke they are two disciples of John who came with the inquiry: "Art thou he that should come" (viz. Elias)? We raise the query whether this may not be the ultimate source of the tradition related in John 1:19–28.

Nor did I content myself with these trials only, but when I was informed that one, whose name was Banus, (1) lived in the desert, and (2) used no other clothing than grew upon trees, and (3) had no other food than what grew of its own accord, and (4) bathed himself in cold water frequently, both by night and by day, in order to preserve his chastity, I imitated him in those things and continued with him three years.

The Baptist did not come into the cities to seek the multitudes; the multitudes went forth into the wilderness, invading his seclusion, to seek him. His greatness was altogether thrust upon him. The sense of impending wrath made him a prophet like Jonah, but the impulse to deliver it as a message to others was no more primary in his case than in Jonah's. When he found that even in the wilderness he could not escape "the multitudes," his exclamation is: "So you too have heard the warning! Think not then to escape lightly."

Where, then, was this "wilderness" to which John had betaken himself, like so many before him, to live the ascetic life of the Essene? Can we frame any combination of synoptic with Johannine data which will afford a more definite conception of his life and circumstances? The effort is well worth while, but we have not yet taken account of all the evidence. It is a phenomenon which has excited the attention of many critics that Mark 1:5 substitutes "the whole region of Judea and all the Jerusalemites" for the simpler phrase common to Matt. 3:5 and Luke 3:3, "the whole region of Jordan." Mark's phrase is an exaggeration perhaps affected by Q (Matt. 21:32). Matthew's combination, "Jerusalem and all Judea and all the region of Jordan," is still later. Luke 3:3 gives us the true geographical situation. Moreover, this agrees with Josephus, who reports how popular resentment connected the well-merited disaster to the arms of Herod Antipas in 36 A. D. with the execution of the prophet, we know not just how many years before. If his narrative be read for and by itself, until we fully appreciate the author's own point of view, independently of gospel tradition, we shall in the end make much more effective combination of the data than if we prematurely confuse them. Josephus writes as follows:

Now some of the Jews thought that the destruction of Herod's army [at the hands of Aretas, his outraged father-in-law, king of Nabataea] came from God, and that very justly, as a punishment for what he did against John, who was called the Baptist; for Herod slew him, though he was a good man, and bade the

Jews undergo baptism in the discipline of virtue, while practicing what pertains both to equity toward one another and piety towards God; for that baptism would thus be acceptable to him, not as making use of it to excuse certain sins [probably Josephus' idea of Christian baptism],[7] but to keep the body pure [as in his own imitation of Banus], the soul being already purified in advance by righteousness. And when crowds began to congregate, because they greatly delighted to hear his words, Herod became afraid lest his influence with men being so great should lead to some revolt, for they seemed ready to do whatever he advised, and deemed it much better to anticipate any revolutionary outbreak from his side by putting him to death rather t han have to regret getting into trouble after the mischief was done. Out of Herod's suspicious temper he, therefore, was sent a prisoner to Machaerus, the keep I before mentioned, and was put to death there. But the Jews held the opinion that the destruction of the army was a judgment from God who wished to punish Herod on his account.

We are not now concerned with the practicability or impracticability of reconciling this account of the motive of Herod in putting John to death with the story of Mark, nor whether the latter's narrative of John's personal rebukes of the "king" for his adulterous marriage, the feast in the palace attended by "the chief men *of Galilee*," and the echo of the Elijah-Ahab-Jezebel story admits of being located in the lonely fortress of Machaerus on the extreme southern frontier of Antipas' tetrarchy, by the Dead Sea in the land of Moab. We need first to get Josephus' point of view, which is clearly favorable to the Baptist, and describes the popular movement and subsequent feeling, without unfavorable bias, but certainly suggests neither Judea nor Galilee as the scene of John's activity.

Antipas' jurisdiction did not extend west of Jordan, except in Galilee, nor had he any "kingdom" to bestow. Besides Galilee he controlled Perea, the southern part of the trans-Jordan country, his possessions being intersected by Decapolis, whose most important town, Scythopolis, the ancient Beth-Shan, lay right athwart the narrow neck between his possessions. As Josephus says nothing of removal of the prisoner far from the scenes of his activity, his account on the whole favors the region of Perea, and the eastern half of the lower Jordan Valley, as the place of arrest, though a more northerly

[7] The word rendered "excuse," παραίτησις, is the same employed in Luke 14:18 of those who "beg off" from attendance at the feast, and by Josephus himself in the same sense, *Ant.* VII, 8, 2. The word in I Pet. 3:21 is ἐπερώτημα, "earnest seeking."

location is not excluded. The religious significance of the movement, according to Josephus, was beneficial. John's recommendation of baptism was not ritual or sacramentarian (like the Christian, or devotees of the Mysteries), but practical. It would be acceptable to God, if used as the Essenes used it to keep the body pure; "but the soul must be already purified in advance by righteousness." The idea of "making use of it to beg off from certain sins" John was not responsible for. John's doctrine made baptism merely utilitarian, a means to righteousness. He preached the simple, pure ethics of the prophets, justice (δικαιοσύνη) between man and man, and piety (εὐσεβεία) toward God. It is worth while to include this interpretation of the historian's estimate of John as a religious factor, because it is manifestly an impartial and sympathetic statement, yet, so far as the present writer's knowledge extends, has not been appreciated at its full value, particularly in respect to its indirect reflection of the historian's judgment of Christianity.

But we are more directly concerned at present with the geographical data deducible from Josephus' estimate of the political significance of the movement. Manifestly he attaches no importance to the Elijan drama of the prophet rebuking the "king" face to face in his palace, conspired against by Jezebel while Ahab listens and "does many things." Even if he had ever heard the tale, which in Christian circles grew up on the basis of the popular conviction that "the destruction of Herod's army came from God as a punishment for what he did against John," he ignores it. To Josephus the motive of Herod is purely prudential. He aimed to nip in the bud a "revolutionary (messianistic) outbreak." Josephus leaves it to the reader to guess why a purely reformatory movement should tend toward nationalistic violence. Crowds began to gather, apparently ready to do whatever John advised. He does not state where the gathering took place, but the gospel statements of "the wilderness" and "Jordan" as the scene of baptism are confirmed by the mention of Machaerus; for if the movement had been nearer Galilee, it is hardly likely that the prisoner would have been transported to the extreme southern limit of Herod's dominions. It was east of Jordan, else Herod would have been invading Pilate's jurisdiction.

The explicitness of the Fourth Gospel as against the Synoptics on the exact scene of John's first ministry, including the period of Jesus' own baptism and call of the first disciples, can be accounted for, as we have seen, by analogy of that characteristic of this gospel which Michaelis was perhaps the first to point out; but Baldensperger has recently brought more emphatically to our attention[8] that it aims to correct the exaggerated, supernaturalistic views of certain devotees of the Baptist, probably connected with the Ephesian "disciples" described in Acts 18:25; 19:1–7. But why does this evangelist take pains to differentiate from this first scene, which he locates in reasonable harmony with synoptic tradition, at "Bethany beyond Jordan," a second, which he locates at "Aenon, near to Salim," and what localities are meant by both expressions?

As regards "Bethany beyond Jordan" no more probable site has been suggested than that proposed by Furrer:

> It is well known that according to the oldest witness the place where John was baptizing was called not Bethabara, but Bethany, John 1:28. This spot was beyond Jordan (1:28; 3:26; 10:40). John accordingly baptized, not ἐν τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ, but πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου. But where was this trans-Jordanic Bethany? To this question no answer could hitherto be given. But if one climbs the Wadi Abu Muhair northeastward (from the Jordan bridge northeast of Jericho), he comes to a locality now lying in ruins called Betâne and can reach es-Salt from here in another hour's journey in the same direction. We may identify in Betâne the Arabized form of Betonim, the name of one of the localities of Gad, Josh. 13:26. Eusebius remarks in the *Onomasticon* (ed. Lagarde, 254, 85) that the name which he writes Βοτνία ἡ καὶ Βοτεείν has still a *similar* sound. In later Byzantine lists of churches a locality, Βαταν́ως is mentioned, which to judge by the sequence in the passages in question must have been situated near Salton (es-Salt). No one will raise any objection to the equivalence Betonim = Betâna; on the other hand, Βηθανία with its different *t* sound seems less probable. But we cannot expect strict normality when popular speech turns names of places into another language, but must anticipate that resemblance in sound to other well-known places will play a great part. In ancient documents we have the forms Betonim, Botnia, Bataneos. Greek-speaking Christians might transform the name into Bethany by assimilation to the Judean *Bethany*.

The present writer made a careful inspection of this locality and its ruins in April, 1906, and was convinced of the considerable importance of the place during the Herodian period, to which alone the colossal blocks forming the substructure of some of the buildings could

[8] *Prolog des vierten Evangeliums, sein polemisch-apologetischer Zweck* (1898).

be attributed. The name, as repeatedly pronounced and written for him by natives, was not Betâne or Betâna, but Batneh, which is manifestly much closer to the Byzantine form. Nevertheless, the identification with Betonim of Gad (Josh. 13:26) is reasonable enough. Only as the meaning of this name is obvious (בְּטֹנִים = pistacias), a large degree of allowance must be made for transformation



RUINS AT BATNEH (*Khurbet Eyyoub*) Lintel (of Synagogue?) on left

and assimilation through ignorance of language or locality, or both. As the place is at least five hours' journey from the Jordan, on the dry plateau 3,000 feet above it, the real place of baptizing would have to be understood as designated only by this neighboring (?) locality; unless the remains of a large rectangular pool or reservoir for rain-water, measuring some 150×75 feet could be regarded as representing John's baptismal font. In the present condition of our geographical knowledge it is certainly the course of prudence to confess ignorance of the locality by which the fourth evangelist has endeavored to specify more exactly the scene of the Baptist's ministry as described by his predecessors.

But have we in the Johannine specification of the locality real historical tradition? It is certainly a curious phenomenon that the Johannine equivalent for the Perean ministry of Luke (John 10:40–42; cf. Luke 10:38–42) should bring us to another Bethany, so that we have two households of Mary and Martha, and two Bethanys, between which Jesus journeys just before the final Passover. According to Luke, Mary and Martha are the hosts in the Perean village. According to John, "the village of Mary and Martha" is the Bethany near Jerusalem. When we add the undeniable fact that the scene of the anointing of Jesus' feet (!) by Mary (John 12:1–8), while "Martha served," is a conflation of Luke 7:36–50 and 10:38–42 with Mark 14:3–9, only the last-named passage giving the locality as "in Bethany," the inference seems not an unreasonable one that the fourth evangelist's two Bethanys are simply due to his harmonization of Mark and Luke.[9]

Considering that the area of search is not a wide one, the scene of the Baptist's ministry being necessarily the Jordan Valley not far from the traditional site, the perplexity of the ancient geographers, familiar as they were with the region, is significant. If the reading *βηθαναβρα* proposed by Cheyne[10] in support of the location Bethnimrah advocated by Sir George Grove and adopted by Sir Charles Wilson, were actually found in any MS, we should still be strongly tempted to account for it by conflation of the two current readings *βηθανια* and *βηθαβαρα*.[11] Since all that can be adduced is the reading of Josh. 13:27 (LXX) *βαινθαναβρα* for Bethnimrah, the theory has little in its favor save a good supply of water somewhere in the required vicinity. The derivation of Bethany from בֵּית אֳנִיָּה, "house of the ship," and conjecture that it was another name for the place Bethabara, "house of crossing," will hardly carry conviction even under

[9] As regards the location of this Perean village in the fourth evangelist's understanding of Luke, it is perhaps worth noting that Luke 10:38–42 follows immediately upon the story how the man befriended by the Good Samaritan "was going down from Jerusalem to Jericho." If supposed to be related from the life (as has been the constant assumption of interpreters), the continuation, "Now as they [Jesus and the Twelve] went on their way," will lead to the traditional scene of John's baptizing. According to Mark 10:1, this period of the ministry was "beyond Jordan."

[10] *Encyclopedia Biblica, s. v.* Bethany.

[11] As the readings *βεωρ* and *βοσορ* in II Pet. 2:15 are actually found combined in the form *βεωρσορ*.

the influential name of its scholarly supporter.[12] The search on the map, or in the country, for a "Bethany beyond Jordan, where John was baptizing at the first," is not at present in a hopeful condition. Should it not be extended to include the gospels of Mark and Luke?

[12] George A. Smith, *Historical Geography*, p. 542, n. 12.



SHEPHERDS CROSSING THE JORDAN

WASHING THE DISCIPLES' FEET: JOHN 13:1–20

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"Willst du ins Unendliche schreiten,
Geh' nur im endlichen nach allen Seiten."

This word of Goethe has a twofold application to the student who takes up the study of John 13:1–20; for, first, the critical question, if followed out on "all sides," involves many and difficult points; and, second, the content of the passage, whether it be historical or not, leads us to the deep things of the ministry of Jesus. But the present article will not attempt to say all that can be said either on the critical question or on the profound significance of the scene. We shall seek only to indicate why we see in the passage a historical tradition, in spite of the attractive arguments that have been advanced by various scholars in support of the view that it is a free production by the author of the Fourth Gospel—a sort of dramatization of the thought expressed in Luke 22:27; and also to indicate the relation of its teaching to that of the symbolical bread and wine.

We need not, then, enter into the question whether the writer of this gospel put the washing of the disciples' feet on the thirteenth or the fourteenth of Nisan; it is clear that he put it in the last evening which Jesus spent with his disciples. Since the story is recorded by no other writer, if we accept it as historical we shall naturally think of it as belonging to that evening. But is it reasonable to regard it as the description of an actual occurrence? It is found in a writing which, by very general consent, contains a large interpretative element —a writing which the author introduces with words of a purely speculative character, and of which he says that it was written to prove a proposition (20:31). Moreover, the story makes use of some material which is found in the earlier gospels (e. g., vss. 16, 17, 20), and in one instance attributes to Jesus words which appear to have no close connection with the subject under discussion (vs. 20). In addition to all this, it is true that the entire scene may be regarded as a visible representation of the truth of Jesus' words, "The Son of

man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister" (Mark 10:45); and may with even greater fitness be regarded as a vivid presentation of the thought of Luke 22:27, "I am in the midst of you as he that serveth." Why, then, is not the story to be held as a symbolic interpretation of a teaching of Jesus which the author of the gospel regarded as fundamental? What sufficient reasons are there for reading it as a veritable transcript of things which actually took place?

One reason which I am sure will have weight with every reader is that the Jesus and the Peter of this story act and speak with their own inimitable originality. They are wholly the same persons whom we see in many a synoptic picture. The situations are new, and they are critical for those who participate in the scene; but still the figures of Jesus and his impulsive, though loyal, disciple are so subtly and profoundly true to life that it is far easier to regard the story as history than as fiction. Grant that the author of the Fourth Gospel could have invented the situation, it is very difficult to believe that even he was equal to the production of these character sketches. I find it easier to regard the seventeenth chapter of John as the author's interpretation of the spirit of Jesus than to regard the story of the washing of the disciples' feet as a literary enlargement of Luke 22:27. One may, indeed, find it hard to believe that the Jesus of the early gospels is altogether the Jesus of the "high-priestly" prayer; but the one who arose from supper and girded himself after the manner of a slave, the one who washed the feet of the disciples, who held with Peter the colloquy of John 13:8–10, and who afterward explained the significance of the act which he had performed—this one is felt to be no other than the Jesus of Nazareth and Capernaum, of the Sermon on the Mount and the parables, and of the score of narratives which depict the Master as a healer and a teacher of men.

And the Peter of this story in John is a revelation of Peter's own heart. How like him to break the sacred silence with "Lord, dost thou wash my feet?" And when he declared a moment later, in words that must have startled everyone in the room, even Jesus himself, "Thou shalt never wash my feet!" we must confess that, while the declaration is like Peter, it is extremely improbable that anyone would have had the hardihood to attribute such a shocking statement to Peter, even if one had possessed the cleverness thus to

sketch the fisherman to the life. Hardly less characteristically divine is the sudden and complete revulsion of feeling that finds an outlet in the cry—accompanied, we may well believe, with tears: "Lord, not my feet only, but also my hands and my head."

We conclude then that, in view of the marvelous truthfulness of this portrayal of character, it is easier to regard the scene as born of life than as born of the brain of any man.

Another point to be noted, when speaking of the historical character of this Johannean narrative, is the fact that the washing of the disciples' feet took place *during* the supper (see vss. 2, 4, 12, 26). Is that a detail which we can reasonably suppose was invented? If a Jew had devised the scene, would he not have put the act of washing *prior* to the supper? We will suppose that he wished to suggest the forgetfulness of the disciples, their common neglect of an opportunity to show a kind attention to the Master; but is it probable that he would have postponed it until the supper was actually in progress? Certainly this was not necessary for the accomplishment of his purpose, and we must regard it as exceedingly improbable. Indeed, it does not seem likely that Jesus himself, when first he reclined at the table, with the disciples, contemplated the act of washing their feet. It appears much more probable that he was led to it by something that he observed as the supper was being taken—perhaps some ill-feeling caused by the order in which the company was seated, or some other lack of brotherly regard. But if the act of washing the disciples' feet was not premeditated by Jesus (assuming now that it is historical); if it was inspired by some passing incident (which view is surely in keeping with the habit of Jesus; for, though he always acted on principle, he did not have a programme for the details of his course from day to day), then it becomes still more plain that the interruption of the supper for the sake of washing the disciples' feet does not accord with the idea that the narrative is a purely literary product. If the scene had been invented, there is every reason to think that the inventor would have located the washing of the disciples' feet *before* rather than *during* the supper.

But, without dwelling longer on this aspect of the subject, we inquire next into the relation of this symbolic act of washing the disciples' feet to the symbolic partaking of bread and wine which the

Synoptic Gospels put in the last evening of the life of Jesus. The Fourth Gospel, while it implies acquaintance with the institution of the Lord's Supper (see 6:53–58), omits any reference to its establishment. How far does the symbolic act which it does preserve take the place of that which the earlier gospels give us?

To this question one may reply, in the first place, that the washing of the disciples' feet is a parable which teaches the duty of unselfish service as a fundamental Christian law. Obviously it does not contemplate a formal rite patterned after the action of Jesus. It is an *example* (ὑπόδειγμα), applicable over the length and breadth of life, not a model to be copied in detail. Had it been intended as a model, it would have needed no explanation from Jesus; but as a parable on love it might, like many other of his parables, be thought to need explanation. But in the giving of bread and wine later in the same evening, it is difficult to think that Jesus did not contemplate the repetition of the act, a spontaneous ordinance of affectionate remembrance. Here, then, is one point in which the two great symbolic acts part company.

It is equally plain that the washing of the disciples' feet, though a most comprehensive symbol, and one whose significance can never be inwardly digested without thought of Jesus, nevertheless is not so intense in meaning, so original, so personal, so expressive of the vital relation of Christ to the Christian life of his disciples, as is the Eucharist. Its symbolism does not so appeal to the imagination. The conception of the broken body and the shed blood under the symbols of bread and wine is more powerful to stir the soul than is the act of Jesus in washing the feet of his disciples. Both symbols turn the thought to Jesus, but one *rivets* it upon him.

But we have not yet touched the broadest and most practical distinction between the earlier and the later symbolic acts in which Jesus on the last evening of his life impressed on his disciples the significance of his whole career. In one, the Eucharist, the soul faces Christ; in the other it faces the fellow-man. In one the soul contemplates the support and sustenance of its life; in the other it fronts its duty to all other souls. Therefore in the observance of the Lord's Supper the disciple is drawn out to fellowship with the Invisible, with God as revealed in Christ; but in the realization of the lesson

of the other symbolic act he is brought into contact with men and women and children to whom he can minister. Hence it is plain that of the two symbols one is religious, the other ethical; or—since we, unlike Jesus, are apt to separate ethics and religion—we will rather say that one symbol looks Godward, the other manward.

And this brings us finally, to the obvious thought that the two symbolic acts are complementary. It may have been the recognition of this truth which led the author of the Fourth Gospel to incorporate in his narrative the story of the washing of the disciples' feet. Even at the time when he wrote, Christians may have begun to see the necessity of emphasizing the truth of the less attractive of the two symbolic acts. For, plainly, as human nature runs, the lesson of the earlier symbolic act *is* less attractive and easy of performance than that of the later act. Therefore the former has often been neglected, while the latter has come to be the very center of ceremonial Christianity. "Sacrament" and "sacramental" are not New Testament words, but I think that from the standpoint of Jesus the lesson of the bread and wine is no more really sacramental than is that of the washing of the disciples' feet. The great truths which the two symbols express are necessary one to the other.

It has been held in recent times that Jesus in giving bread and wine to his disciples did not contemplate a fixed religious rite. However that may be, one may safely say that there is much in the Protestant observance of the Lord's Supper and in the Roman Catholic mass which was *not* contemplated by Jesus. And this also one may safely say that, from the standpoint of Jesus, no severance of the truths of the two symbolic acts is to be tolerated; that any observance of the Supper without observance of the teaching of the earlier symbol is an abomination in his sight; and that, if either the outward rite of the Lord's Supper or the truth of the symbolic foot-washing is to be magnified at the expense of the other, it certainly should *not* be the outward rite.

AN ANCIENT ANTICIPATION OF MODERN UNBELIEF

JUDGES 13:22, 23

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The quaint and charming story of Manoah and his wife forms a strange prologue to the amazing career of Samson. It appears to be a kind of envelope which later ages constructed that it might catalogue such an uncanny hero as Samson with the other great men of Israel. It is an attempt to overlay the protruding muscles of the barbarian with the mystic splendor of angels' wings.

I have little doubt that this prologue is a revelation of the convictions and inner struggles of the company of prophets out of which, in all probability, this story has come to us. In the endeavor to transform Samson into a Nazirite, we have an indication of the reaction—which Elijah the Gileadite embodies—from the love of all the luxuries of Canaan in favor of the more primitive life of the desert. But in this quaint prologue there is a revelation of a more vital spiritual life that we are apt to overlook. It seems to harmonize strikingly with our modern experiences. It anticipates our higher skepticism, and suggests its only adequate remedy.

The legend presents to us two figures which are clearly differentiated from each other—the figure of Manoah and the figure of Manoah's wife.

Manoah comes before us as a hopeful believer throughout the entire announcement of the birth of his son by his unusual visitor. But when, after the announcement has been made, the visitor discloses his identity and his supernatural power by ascending to heaven in the flame of Manoah's sacrifice of thanksgiving, Manoah's childlike faith is turned into terror, and he calls out to his wife: "We shall surely die because we have seen God" (or, possibly, "because we have seen a divine being"). He could believe in God when he did not think much about him or when his thoughts centered conventionally around a traditional object of faith, but when something of God's transcendent greatness was revealed to him, through the

vision either of himself or of his satellite, his faith refused to rise to the gigantic effort. Here is the moment when Manoah symbolizes the higher variety of modern skepticism and shows us that it is not so modern after all. The symbolism is crude, to be sure, but most suggestive.

Skepticism is of two kinds. One is symbolized by Esau, with his head buried in his bowl of pottage; the other, by Manoah, falling upon his face to the ground before the majesty of the God upon whom he is called to set his trust. Both kinds of ancient skepticism have their modern representatives. Esau represents the vulgar skepticism of every age—the skepticism of the materialist, of the man whose flesh has robbed him of his spiritual birthright, of the man whose soul is unvisited by ideals. Manoah represents the skepticism of the thoughtful, of the reverent, of the man who is overpowered by the splendor of his visions, too great for him ever to hold fast. And while every one of us has probably experienced something of the blight of both kinds of skepticism, it is that of Manoah for which we retain the greatest sympathy and for which we seek most earnestly for a cure.

The legend of Manoah witnesses that reverent skepticism is not new, and hints that it is not to be feared as insuperable. In the figure of Manoah the prophets seem to be clothing a personal experience in poetic form. They were caught in the beginnings of that long process of enlargement of human conceptions of God which makes constantly larger demands upon faith—demands which some are always unable to meet. They seem to have had such a conviction of the power and of the sufficiency of Jehovah that they demanded that the people of Israel should trust him as over against all the other gods there were. They demanded that the Baalim be defied rather than pacified. It is no wonder that many even among the prophets found themselves ill at ease in the presence of so mighty a deity as he must have been conceived to be who insisted that his people should ignore or insult all other gods. But this fear of the jealous Jehovah that Manoah expresses was to be repeated at every great epoch of religious history. Just after the Israelites had accommodated themselves to the worship of one God, Amos and his successors insisted that, if God was at all, he must be conceived as

the deliverer, not merely of Israel from Egypt, but also of the Philistines from Caphthor and of the Syrians from Kir. Before this great demand upon faith, the vast majority of Israelites went into spiritual bankruptcy; the ten tribes disappeared. And when through the vicissitudes of centuries this faith had become established in Judea, Jesus appeared and demanded a more heroic faith still. He proclaimed that the Lord of heaven and earth not merely loved a nation like Israel, but counted the hairs of individual men. He commanded Galilean fishermen to raise their voices to the silent sky and to call out into its tremendous spaces the word "Father." Of this heroic faith the slowly built nation of Judea was incapable; the nation fell, and the Jewish faith lost its age-long primacy. And now today, just as the great world of thoughtful men and women had learned to unite in the Lord's Prayer, there comes upon us a new theophany. We must believe on a more stupendous God than did the disciples of Jesus. The telescope leads us behind the stars they saw. The calendar of the geologist seems to reckon a thousand years as a watch in the night; the microscope of the biologist detects the germs of human brain in tadpoles and protoplasm. With some slight beginnings of the idea of a universe, we are now bidden by religion to enthrone within or above all that a will so vast that it cannot be pictured in thought, and yet a will that directs, protects, and conserves each individual soul. When we consider this universe, the work of God's fingers, these eternal and unchanging laws that he has ordained, is there anything to say but: "What is man that Thou art mindful of him?" Is there anything else to do but to fall, like Manoah, with our faces to the ground with the fearful cry: "We shall surely die"?

Yes, there is something else to do. Were there not, life would resolve itself at best into a curious arrangement for building houses and governments and institutions and theaters for our children to tear down again. There is something else to say, and Manoah's wife said it: "If the Lord were pleased to kill us, he would not have received our offering, neither would he have showed us things like these."

The second figure in this picture is, with happy instinct, a woman. With no name to individualize her, she stands before us as a repre-

sentative of her sex. More courageous and of deeper insight than man, she symbolizes the heroic attitude that the necessities of spiritual life demand. She is as overawed as her husband; she falls upon her face to the ground, but she rises with a deeper trust than of old for this "new" God. Her trust is founded on conviction, and her convictions are the result of reflection upon two facts in her experience. She has experienced the satisfaction of communion with God—in her case through the assurance of the acceptance of an offering—and she has experienced the inner enlargement and majestic awe that the new vision of God has brought her. On the immediate perception of the worth of that experience, she rises to the belief in the worth of the soul that experienced it. There is no argument here; the faith of this woman rests upon the intuitive estimate of the value of her soul and of the value of her experiences. The latest modern philosophy is here anticipated, sanctioned by comparatively primitive instincts of man.

And the appeal of this legend to us lies in the simple placing of these two figures of Manoah and his wife over against each other, of the man with his face to the ground and of the woman saying: "If the Lord were pleased to kill us, he would not have showed us things like these." There is no word against the sincerity of Manoah; there is only the picture of his wife with a sincerity equally great, but with greater insight and heroism. And the appeal to us is to side with the soul that we find of greater worth. That the appeal reaches us from one of the bygone formative religious centuries is a fortunate reminder that history has already reinforced or anticipated our inevitable judgment. It reminds us that, even if faith be as small and undeveloped as a grain of mustard seed, its normal business is the removal of mountains. It is with a kind of shame at the weakness with which we have met a difficulty we had fancied unique, and with a grateful sense of spiritual solidarity with the far-off leaders of the never-ending struggle for faith, that we too humbly join in the triumphant words: "If the Lord were pleased to kill us, he would not have showed us things like these." Where is there to be found a more adequate or a more triumphant answer to the reverent skepticism of our time?

EXPOSITORY STUDIES IN THE OLD TESTAMENT

VII. ISRAEL IN THE WILDERNESS

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THE TABERNACLE: EXODUS 40:1–13, 34–38[1]

I. CRITICAL

1. Our next three lessons are taken from the great legal section of P, which extends, with but one interruption (Ex. 32–34), from Ex. 25 to Num. 10:10. Two things are to be carefully remembered in studying this section: (1) that as a literary product it belongs to the post-exilic period, and hence must be studied from the post-exilic, and not from the Mosaic, point of view; and (2) that P, though a unit as contrasted with the J and E documents, is nevertheless not homogeneous, but represents a series of literary deposits of the priestly *school*. This fact of various literary strata within P itself is well illustrated in the Law of the Tabernacle (Ex., chaps. 25–31, 35–40). In chaps. 25–31 the detailed plans of the tabernacle are given to Moses; in chaps. 35–40 he carries them into effect. But in chaps. 35–40 there are, on the one hand, a purposeless amplitude of repetition (long paragraphs in verbatim agreement with chaps. 25–31), and, on the other hand, a topical rearrangement of chaps. 25–31, which can be satisfactorily explained only on the supposition of a difference in literary origin. The generally accepted literary analysis is that chaps. 25–29 represent the earliest stratum of the Law of the Tabernacle; chaps. 30, 31, a later addendum; and chaps. 35–40, a still later rearrangement.

2. But if P is post-exilic, the question is raised as to whether we have here a historically trustworthy description of the wilderness tabernacle. The consensus of critical opinion is that, while there was no doubt some sort of a tent to protect the ark in the wilderness, P's account is an idealized description. This view is based, not only on the lateness of P, not only on the a-priori unlikelihood of the fugitive Israelites being able to erect a structure of such magnificence in the wilderness, but more particularly on the facts that the tabernacle of the earliest tradition (Ex. 33:7–14) seems to be a different sort of structure, and that in the genuine pre-exilic portions of the Old Testament there is no hint of such a structure as P describes

[1] International Sunday-School Lesson for August 4, 1907.

(notably not in I Sam., chaps. 1–6, or I Kings, chaps. 5–8, where we would expect mention of it).[2]

As an idealization, the tabernacle of P is a parallel to the ideal temple of Ezekiel (Ezek., chaps. 40 ff.). Ezekiel, the prophet, projects his ideal into the golden future. The priestly school project their ideal into the golden past. Both ideals are intended to teach the same great truths, and these are no more invalidated for the tabernacle of P, which never was, than for the temple of Ezekiel, which never will be.

II. EXPOSITORY

Chapter 40 gives us a résumé of the chief points of interest connected with the tabernacle. Space forbids any discussion of them which would go beyond an unnecessary statement of facts familiar to all. It seems best, therefore, in accordance with the generalizing character of this chapter and the particular purpose of these studies, to refer to some facts of a more general significance in the interpretation of the tabernacle.

1. The imagery of the tabernacle is probably rooted in primitive mythological conceptions. For example: The "shew-bread"—or, more literally, "bread of the presence;" i. e., the bread set before the god—was originally supposed to be eaten by the god. In the Assyro-Babylonian temples baked loaves were set out on tables, sometimes twelve in number (cf. Lev. 24:5), sometimes in multiples of twelve, the number having an astral significance; and even the very expression "bread of the presence" has possibly been identified on the monuments. The candlestick with seven lamps was originally connected with the planetary system. The orientals are themselves very susceptible to odors, and they no doubt originally offered *incense* to God as pleasing to the sense of smell (cf. Gen. 8:21). The one laver goes back to the ten lavers and the brazen "sea" in the temple of Solomon, which probably had a cosmical significance. We meet with "seas," symbolic of "the great deep" or world-ocean in the Assyro-Babylonian temples. The veil (*parokkheth*, vs. 3) which screens the Holy Place from the Holy of Holies seems to be connected with the Babylonian *parakku*, or separate room of the temple where the god dwells. Many scholars hold that even the ark itself was originally of the nature of a fetish; i. e., the actual abode of God.

2. On the other hand, since we are dealing with a late idealization, originating at a time when monotheism had become a part of the religious consciousness, it would be unfair to restrict the symbolic meaning of the

[2] The technical name for the tabernacle is found only at I Sam. 2:22 and I Kings 8:4 in the books of Judges-Samuel-Kings, but in both cases is almost certainly interpolated.

tabernacle to the primitive and mythological conceptions that may underlie it. And yet the historical interpretation of the tabernacle must not go beyond the probable spiritualizing interpretations of the post-exilic period. According to these, the twelve loaves of shew-bread become the symbol of the gratitude of the twelve tribes of Israel to the Giver of all good; the incense, simply a token of homage; the one laver, freed of cosmical significance, merely a part of the apparatus of purification; the ark, instead of the abode of God, only a receptacle for the law; while the mercy-seat (unknown in Solomon's temple), covering over and so protecting the law (not hiding it in the sense of abrogating it), gives to the ancient symbol a wonderfully beautiful and spiritual meaning. But beyond such general and obvious interpretations we have no right to go. More especially it is illegitimate, in view of what has been said, to interpret the tabernacle as a prophetic Christian symbol. There is nothing in the Old Testament to justify such an interpretation, though it would be passing strange that no prophet has made such use of the tabernacle, if it really had messianic significance. Nor does the New Testament justify such an interpretation, certainly not Heb., chaps. 8–10. In these chapters the tabernacle is the symbol of the Old Dispensation, and as such is set in fundamental antithesis to the New Dispensation. It becomes a prophecy only as all incompleteness looks forward to completeness. But Christian theologians have too frequently modulated antithesis into type and antitype, and the tabernacle as type into a marvelous messianic symbol.

III. LESSONS

1. The tabernacle is the symbol of the self-revealing presence of God. It is called tabernacle, or "dwelling," "tent of meeting," where God will meet with Moses and Israel; a place, therefore, of self-revelation, and "tent of testimony," as sheltering the ark that contained the Ten Commandments, the quintessence of God's self-revelation. It presents, therefore, the fundamental religious truth that God is among his people to receive their worship, to direct their conduct, to glorify their life. At the same time, the self-revealing God is infinitely holy, and the tabernacle in its general design expresses his holiness or unapproachable divinity. As a symbol of holiness the tabernacle is the most characteristic expression of Old Testament religion, which in its lower forms insists on ceremonial cleanness, in its higher forms, on ethical purity; and the lesson it teaches is summed up in the "procul, o procul este profani" of the Latin poet.

2. But the lessons which the historical interpretation may draw from the tabernacle are chiefly, as in Heb., chaps. 8–10, lessons of contrast. In the New Testament the self-revelation of God is seen, not in a building.

however perfect, but in a person, Jesus Christ, who tabernacled among us (John 1:14), ate with publicans and sinners, and denied that unwashen hands or unclean meats defile a man. In him revelation became unrestricted, access to God universal, the thought of God's holiness subordinated to the thought of his fatherhood, the necessity of man's ceremonial cleanness abrogated, and the ancient, timorous, ethical purity, which scrupulously sought to protect itself against defilement, transformed into a courageous, hopeful, all-conquering love; while the tent of the ancient nationalistic sanctuary has become in the world-religion conterminous with the arch of heaven, under which the true worshipers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth.

Nadab and Abihu: Lev. 10:1–11[3]

I. Critical

The Book of Leviticus is devoted to the ritual system of which the tabernacle is the center. The topical divisions of the book are as follows: (1) chaps. 1–7, the law of the sacrifices; (2) chaps. 8–10, the consecration of the priests, initiation of the ritual system, and first act of profanation; (3) chaps. 11–15 and 16, the laws of purification and atonement; (4) chaps. 17–26, the law of holiness; (5) chap. 27, an addendum on vows, tithes, etc. Chaps. 8–10 are related under the guise of history, but are really intended to teach what belonged to an ideal service, and how scrupulously it must be preserved from all profanation. As narrative chaps. 8–10 are the direct continuation of the tabernacle section, Ex., chaps. 25–31 and 35–40; Lev., chaps. 1–7, being interpolated at this point, probably because chaps. 8–10 presuppose some law of sacrifice.

II. Expository

Lev. 10:1–11 may be divided into three sections: (1) vss. 1–5, the fatal consequences of conducting the tabernacle-service in a wrong way (contrasting with the ideal way, chap. 9); (2) vss. 6, 7, specific prescriptions regulating the attitude of the priests toward funeral rites; (3) vss. 8–11, some general prescriptions relating to the sanctity of the service.

1. Vss. 1–5: (*a*) "Strange fire;" i. e., an *offering* made by fire in a way not prescribed by law. The exact form of the transgression is not stated, and guesses as to its nature are irrelevant. The emphasis falls on the penalty attached. (*b*) This penalty is death. No worse punishment could have been inflicted if the sacrifice had been offered to a false god, or if Nadab and Abihu had been guilty of gross immorality. (*c*) In vs. 3 read "I will show myself holy," instead of "I will be sanctified." The

[3] International Sunday-School Lesson for August 11, 1907.

phrase is practically equivalent to, "I will show myself to be divine." The death penalty is due to the apparently automatic reaction of God's holiness or divinity (see below at vs. 9) upon anyone who dares to approach him in an untechnical way. Not the possible motives behind the act are here thought of, but only the act itself. Death follows profanation, whatever be the motive. (*d*) The nature of the destroying fire is not clear, as the coats were not burned when the men were slain (vs. 5).

2. Vss. 6, 7: The priests were not forbidden to mourn because Nadab and Abihu had been justly punished. In that case the people would have been forbidden to mourn also, contrary to vs. 6*b*. The priests, as specially consecrated (vs. 7), were forbidden to mourn because of the possible contagion with the dead. Defilement by the dead was one of the most infectious of all defilements (cf. Num., chap. 19). Hence the priests must not be associated in any way with the dead (cf. Lev., chap. 21). In Lev. 21: 10 the prohibition of letting the hair grow and tearing the garments is restricted to the case of the high-priest. But here it is extended to all the priests. Observe that again the death penalty is imposed for any infraction of the rules of mourning, and further any defilement by the priests will implicate the people also in the anger of God. It is clear again that the question of motive has nothing to do with the punishment. Any action which makes the priest ceremonially unclean is a profanation of the holiness of God, and brings down doom both upon the priests and upon the people, who are infected by the uncleanness of the priests.

3. Vss. 8–11: (*a*) The prescriptions here have nothing to do with the historical occasion, and are almost certainly a later accretion. Cf. vs. 9 with Ezek. 44:21, and vs. 10 with Ezek. 22:26; 42:20; 44:23 (48:15). The prohibition of wine to religious persons is often met with among other nations. So in the case of the Persian magi, the Egyptian priests, and the Pythagorians. The Roman *flamen dialis* could not even walk on a path overgrown with grapevine.

(*b*) The antithesis between the holy and the common (vs. 10), though formally stated only here in the Hexateuch, and found again only in I Sam. 21:4, 5, and the passages in Ezekiel cited above, is an antithesis that underlies the whole Levitical system. But what is "holiness"? The term as applied to God in the Old Testament is vague. But it is practically equivalent to what we express by "god-head" or "divinity." It will therefore vary in its connotation as the idea of God varies. Originally it had no ethical significance, as is clear from its frequent application to places and things. These are holy, not because of any inherent moral quality, but because of their *relation* to the divine. At this point the idea of holiness

strikes its roots deep into primitive religious conceptions, and, as has often been pointed out, was originally not to be differentiated from the idea of *taboo*. A place or thing was taboo when it was supposed to be able to avenge any contact with it by supernatural penalties. In process of time there were practically developed two classes of taboo. Some things were taboo because of their relation to the god who could and would avenge their profanation. These things became holy because adopted, as it were, into the sphere of deity, *related* to the god. Other things were taboo because of an inherent supernatural or demoniacal power. These things became unclean or hateful to the god. Thus holiness and uncleanness, paradoxical though it be, grew out of the same idea. The antithesis to the holy is the common, and to the unclean the clean, though frequently the clean and the holy become practically confused. Proof of the close connection between holiness and uncleanness is found in the fact that both are physically contagious, and the person affected by them must be subjected to practically the same treatment (cf. Lev. 6:24–30, infection from holiness, with 11:29–37 or 15:19–24, infection from uncleanness). In the prophets the holiness of God was given an ethical import, implying both the metaphysical distinction or separateness of God from the finiteness of man (Hos. 11:9), and also his separateness from all moral taint (Isa. 6:3 ff.; Hab. 1:12 ff.). In the post-exilic period the holiness of the people as the correlative of the holiness of God became the ideal of the religious leaders. The people were to hallow themselves; i. e., *relate* themselves down to the minutest details of daily life, to their God. To this end the old priestly ceremonial, much of which had been handed down from immemorial antiquity, and whose origin in savage customs had been forgotten, was utilized. It became the means for the practice of holiness. The ideal of a holy nation was a noble and deeply ethical one, but unfortunately the means taken to realize it were unsuitable. The essentially non-moral character of the ceremonial, which was not an original product of the religion of Israel, asserted itself. The moral quality which had been imparted to holiness by the prophets became obscured by the scrupulous insistence upon ceremonial holiness. Approach to the holy God was resolved into an elaborate technique, and religion became the attainment of the virtuoso. The fatal consequences of such a development is aptly illustrated in the present lesson, where the death penalty is imposed simply for infractions of the ritual. This means that, from the view-point of the law, moral distinctions are just as much broken down as when in England capital punishment was prescribed for petty thieving as well as for murder. When a ritual system is not morally self-authenticating, and is, at the same time, promulgated as

the express will of God, the result will be either a blind obedience, which hardens into a positively immoral formalism, or skepticism. From the start Christianity was a protest against the ancient ceremonial.

III. LESSONS

It is clear from what has been said that in the view of the present writer the lesson of Nadab and Abihu cannot be properly utilized for the inculcation of Christian ethical ideals. It would be easy to draw lessons from the wording of the passage; e. g., the danger of officiousness in religious activity (cf. Uzzah and the ark); the warning that a religious inheritance and training are no guarantee of acceptance with God (the fire of God consumes the sons of Aaron); that self-restraint is the first condition of religious service (vs. 9); etc. But such homiletical glosses are not the real teaching of this passage, and to derive them from it only exposes the unwary or immature mind to the danger of supposing that the precedents and religious ideas of this chapter, which form the setting of the supposed lessons, yet obtain in the kingdom of God. As a study of a very important stage in the history of Hebrew religion the present lesson is highly interesting and instructive. As a basis for sermonizing it is of more than doubtful value. Some, no doubt, will find these conclusions of criticism destructive, but it is hoped that some will find in them an intellectual and spiritual relief.

The Day of Atonement: Lev. 16:5–22[4]

I. CRITICAL

The ideal of the post-exilic community was, as we have seen in the previous lesson, holiness—moral and ceremonial purity. The longing after holiness grew out of the deepening consciousness of national sin, which was in turn the result of the terrible experiences of the exile. From the time of the exile this consciousness of sin became an integral element in Jewish thought. It found its characteristic expression in the reformulation and development of the ritual into a great apparatus of propitiation. This development is seen in the predominance of the burnt-offering over the peace-offering as compared with the pre-exilic period, in the propitiatory character attached to the burnt-offering (Lev. 1:4), and above all in the rise of two really new varieties of sacrifice, the sin- and the guilt-offering (Lev., chaps. 4–6). Ezekiel is the first to deal with specific sin- and guilt-offerings such as we find in the Priests' Code.

The ritual of the Day of Atonement represents the highest, most intense development of the ideas involved in the sin-offering. In other words, accord-

[4] International Sunday-School Lesson for August 18, 1907.

ing to the modern view the Day of Atonement represents the culmination of the ritual system as an expression of the national consciousness of sin and longing for holiness. The probable time of its origin corresponds with its logical position in the system of P, for Lev., chap. 16, belongs apparently to one of the latest strata of the Priests' Code. There is not the slightest evidence of such an observance before the exile, and though Ezekiel (45:18–20) gives us a preliminary sketch of an atonement day or days (cf. LXX), yet it does not seem to have been known even in the time of Nehemiah (the argument from silence at Neh., chaps. 8, 9, is very strong). Chapter 16 seems to be in its present form the continuation of chaps. 8–10; chaps. 11–15, on the laws of purification, being again interpolated.

II. EXPOSITORY

The two great objects of the ritual for the Day of Atonement were "to make atonement" (*kipper*, a technical term of P) (1) for the sanctuary, which, as dwelling amid the people, was supposed to have contracted defilement from them (vss. 14–19); and (2) for the people (vss. 20–28).

1. The purification of the tabernacle was accomplished by the application of the blood of a young bullock, the sin-offering of the priest, and of a he-goat, the sin-offering of the people, (*a*) to the mercy-seat in the Holy Place (in Lev., chap. 16 = the Holy of Holies), (*b*) to the Tent of Meeting (here = the Holy Place), and (*c*) to the altar of burnt-offering in the court. According to a supplementary notice in Ex. 30:10, the altar of incense was the special object of the blood-manipulation in the Holy Place.

(*a*) The increasing acuteness with which the fact of sin was realized in the post-exilic period is well illustrated in the gradual intensification of the ritual at this point. In Ex., chap. 29, and Lev., chaps. 8 and 9 (earlier strata of P), the blood of the sin-offering for the priest was applied only to the altar of burnt-offering. In Lev., chap. 4, the blood of the sin-offering for the individual layman or ruler was applied to the altar of burnt-offering, but that for the priest was applied to the altar of incense in the Holy Place. In Lev., chap. 16, the last step is taken, and the blood of the high-priest's sin-offering is applied to the mercy-seat itself.

(*b*) The application of blood is scarcely based on the doctrine of vicarious suffering in P, as has been commonly supposed, though this idea admittedly lies close at hand, but more probably on the idea that the blood as symbol of the life (Lev. 17:11) is the most precious gift that can be offered to God. Vicarious suffering seems to be excluded by the ritual of the sin-offering. (1) It was offered, not for sins done with "a high hand," and so worthy of death, but for sins done "unwittingly" (Lev., chap. 4; Num., chap. 15).

(2) The emphasis falls, not on the killing of the victim, but on the presentation of the blood; i. e., not on the death and suffering of the victim, but on the presentation of life; and the offerer, not the priest, slaughters the victim, which would scarcely be the case in a vicarious sacrifice. (3) The sin-offering was considered most holy (Lev. 6:24–30); but if it had borne the sin of the offerer, it would have been unclean. (4) A vegetable offering could at times be substituted for the bloody offering (Lev. 5:11), which would hardly have been possible if vicarious suffering had been thought of.

(*c*) The fact that the sin-offering expiates only venial sins testifies in this connection very forcibly to the sensitiveness to sin in the post-exilic community. It was thought necessary once a year to purify the sanctuary of the defilement with which it had been infected by the sins of the people, even when these were done in ignorance.

(*d*) Finally, the purification of the Tabernacle must not be thought of as a purely symbolic act. It was considered actually to have contracted defilement, for we have seen that the physical contagion of sin and uncleanness underlies the ceremonial system of P.

2. The purification of the people was accomplished by the transfer of its sins to the goat for Azazel.

(*a*) Philology has not as yet explained, nor archaeology identified, Azazel. The ancient versions connect the word with roots signifying removal or departure, and see in it a common noun from which comes the "scapegoat" of A. V. But the word is undoubtedly a proper noun (cf. R. V.), and is probably a survival of popular demonology which peopled desert places with wild, goatlike creatures (satyrs, cf. Lev. 17:7; Isa. 13:21; 34:14). In the Book of Enoch Azazel appears as a fallen angel. This probably belongs to a later development, but witnesses to the fact that he was originally connected with malevolent agencies. (*b*) The language of vss. 21 ff. expresses the thought of an actual transfer of the sins of the people to the goat, and must not be weakened to a purely symbolic transfer. We have to deal here with a custom which finds the closest analogies among many peoples, especially among the aboriginal tribes of India, where the thought of a transfer is undoubtedly present. For example, at the death of a Badaga (a tribe in the Nilgirri hills of India) two buffalo calves were selected, the sins of the dead man laid upon one of them, which was then chased away into the wilderness, followed by the cries, "Away, away!" According to the ritual of later Judaism, the people were also accustomed to cry after the goat, "Take away (the sins) and go." (*c*) The thought of a vicarious sacrifice again cannot be attached to this rite, as the goat was not killed at first. Only in the later ritual was it customary to cast him over a

precipice. But this was probably to prevent his return. It may not be argued that the ritual of the goat must be purely symbolical in the case of the Jews, because in the post-exilic period there was a purified conception of religion. The history of doctrine and cultus in the Christian church should teach us how tolerant an advanced dogmatic may be at times of popular and primitive ideas.

III. LESSONS

Though the historical student of the Bible must forego some of those homiletical applications of this passage that have been customary, there is one valuable lesson that may be appropriately drawn from the ritual of the Day of Atonement—the lesson of the importance of the sensitive conscience. Introspection has been overdone in times past. Religion has been sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought. But this is not the danger of the present hour. The danger now is that the still small voice may be drowned in a noisy objectivity. The Puritan conscience, as relentlessly decisive as the great Puritan poet's mystically terrible "two-handed engine at the door," which "stands ready to smite once and smite no more," is often ridiculed at present; and yet this same conscience laid the foundation upon which we build today, and in the future we should be none the worse if in our land, so bathed in sunshine and flooded with prosperity, it should be customary for the President to proclaim an annual fast as well as an annual feast, a day of searching of hearts as well as of thanksgiving, when we should discipline ourselves to a finer discrimination between right and wrong, and to a readier response to the demands of truth, of honor, and of duty; for a profound truth is hidden in the fact that on the Atonement Day, the most solemn and solemnizing day of all the year, the horn was sounded that ushered in the Year of Jubilee (Lev. 25:9).

The Departure from Sinai: Num. 10:11–13, 29–36[5]

I. CRITICAL

Num. 1:1—10:10, on the arrangement of the camp and the organization of the Levites, is the last section of the legislation represented as given at Sinai, the account of which begins at Ex., chap. 19. More particularly it closes the great Sinaitic legislation of P which begins with the law of the tabernacle, Ex., chap. 25. Num. 10:11—20:13 forms the next main division—the forty years' wanderings in the wilderness.

There are three main divisions of 10:11–36, which represent at the same time both the topical and the critical divisions of the chapter: (1)

[5] International Sunday-School Lesson for August 25, 1907.

vss. 11 and 12, a general statement of the departure from Sinai, to which vss. 13–28 (the order of the march) have been added, the whole section to be assigned to P; (2) vss. 29–32, the Hobab incident (J); (3) vss. 33–36, the guidance by the ark (E). The JE section is clearly distinguished from the P section by the abruptness with which it is introduced, and by the fact that the position of the ark is in the midst of the camp in vss. 17, 21, but in front of the camp in vss. 29–36.

II. EXPOSITORY

1. Vss. 11, 12 (13–28): These verses, compared with Ex. 19:1; 40:2, 17; and Num. 1:1, give P's chronology of the exodus up to the departure from Sinai. The wilderness of Paran corresponds "approximately" to the present desert Et-Tih. The stations on the way thither are omitted in this general statement.

2. Vss. 29–32: The passages bearing on the vexed question of the identity of Moses' father-in-law are Ex. 2:16 ff.; 3:1 ff.; 4:18; 18:1 ff.; Judg. 1:16; 4:11. According to the critical solution, there are probably two traditions: the Jethro tradition of the North Israelitic document, E (Ex. 3:1 ff.; 4:18; 18:1 ff.), and the Hobab tradition of the Judaistic document, J (Ex. 2:16 ff.; Num. 10:29 ff.; Judg. 1:16; 4:11). According to the Jethro tradition, Jethro, Moses' father-in-law (*hothen*), visits Moses while he is at Sinai (Ex., chap. 18, must fall after the arrival at Sinai, in spite of its present position; cf. vs. 5), assists him in the organization of the people, and then returns home (18:27). According to the Hobab tradition, Moses beseeches Hobab, his father-in-law (*hothen* is used as before), to guide Israel through the wilderness, as he is familiar with the territory; and we may infer that he did so, though the present form of the narrative does not say so (see below).

Thus there is considerable difference in the form of the two traditions. There are also difficulties within the Hobab tradition itself. At Ex. 2:18 Moses' father-in-law is called Reuel; at Num. 10:29, the *son* of Reuel. But whether Reuel in Ex. 2:18 is original may be doubted. It comes in abruptly at vs. 18. We would expect the name to be mentioned at vs. 16. The Septuagint feels this and inserts Jethro (!) at vs. 16. Further, Hobab is called a Midianite at Num. 10:29, but a Kenite at Judg. 4:11 and 1:16, where LXX A correctly inserts Hobab (the Vatican MSS again inserts Jethro!). Whether on this basis Midianite may be regarded as the more inclusive, Kenite the more specific term, or whether we have another variant tradition, is disputed.

But far more important than the precise identification of Moses' father-

in-law, which has exhausted the ingenuity of harmonists,[6] is the historical reminiscence, attested by two independent traditions, of the important influence which Midian (the Kenites) exerted upon Israel in the formative period of its history. In recent years this fact has been made the foundation of a plausible theory that Jehovah was originally the God of the Kenites, and was adopted by Israel from them through the influence of Moses. However this may be, it is certain that the Israelites and Kenites always felt very closely related. Together Judah and the Kenites conquered the south of Palestine (Judg. 1:16; I Sam. 27:10; 30:29). It was Jael, wife of Heber the Kenite, who rescued Israel at one of the great crises in its history (Judg. 4:11, 17). Their early community of interest was later gratefully remembered by Saul (I Sam. 15:4 ff.). Most significant of all, we find a family of the Kenites called the Rechabites (Jer., chap. 35; I Chron. 2:55) very active supporters of the Jehovah-worship in the reaction against the Phoenician Baal-worship in the time of Elijah and Elisha (II Kings, chaps. 9 and 10).

3. Vss. 33–36: The answer of Hobab is not recorded. The Hobab incident, vss. 29–32, is a fragment. But from the above passages it is clear that he (i. e., the Kenites) cast in his lot with Israel. The answer of Hobab is probably omitted purposely, as the idea of the dependence upon human help for guidance in the wilderness does not agree well with the strictly supernatural guidance by the ark in vss. 33–36. As vss. 29–32 are usually assigned to J, vss. 33–36 are best assigned to E. Vs. 33 as it stands suggests the very improbable conception of the ark preceding the host of Israel by three days. This may be avoided by striking out the "three days' journey" of vs. 33*b* as an accidental repetition of the phrase in vs. 33*a*. The ark seems to be thought of as advancing by itself under direct supernatural control, as if Jehovah actually resided in it—an idea favored by vss. 35 and 36, where the ark and Jehovah are practically identified (contrast the later scrupulous distinction between them in Ps. 132:8, which is clearly based upon the present passage). Compare also I Sam., chaps. 5 and 6, and II Sam., chap. 6, for the same practical identification. Verse 34 suggests that the people were guided by the cloud in harmony with Num. 9:15 ff.

[6] The favorite method of harmonists is to regard Reuel and Jethro as two names for the same person, and Hobab, the son of Reuel-Jethro, as Moses' *brother*-in-law. This is the view of the R. V., which translates *hothen* "father-in-law" in Exodus and Numbers, but "brother-in-law" in Judges. At Num. 10:29 "father-in-law" is retained on the supposition that it is in apposition to Reuel, not to Hobab, in spite of Judg. 1:16 and 4:11 (!). The A. V. in these passages is much to be preferred. Other harmonists hold that Reuel is the father-in-law, and that Jethro and Hobab refer to the same person, the brother-in-law, or else to two different brothers-in-law.

(P), rather than by the ark. The verse stands after vs. 36 in the LXX, and is probably a later redactional addition. Verses 35 and 36 are an ancient poetic fragment, breathing the warlike spirit of the young nation. Jehovah is a God of battles.

III. LESSONS

1. *The lesson of Hobab.*—This incident is in form a story about individuals, in essence a reminiscence of tribal fellowship. On its formal side it teaches the value of granting to a noble nature the opportunity of service. Hobab rejects Moses' promises, but responds to his appeal for help. The appeal for help, if made as in the present instance unselfishly, is an appeal to the two finest things in human nature—self-respect and self-sacrifice; to the happy consciousness of public value and the generous desire to be of value—a lesson that Christian teachers and the Christian church can afford to keep in mind more constantly than is sometimes done.

As a reminiscence of tribal fellowship the Hobab incident teaches the beauty and value of international comity. It is astonishing how quickly children reflect the race-prejudices of their elders. Do we not owe it to the children of our land to instruct them in their relations, for example, to the "chink" and the "dago" of popular prejudice, and thus concretely to teach them that true patriotism does not consist in despising or exploiting the foreigner, but in recognizing the good that is in him and in the interchange of the best that we have with the best that he has?

2. *The lesson of the ark.*—The ark may appropriately be taken as the symbol of God's accompanying providence. Verses 33–36 can then be taken as illustrating the three lessons (*a*) that the providence of God is always in advance of our needs; (*b*) that it is alert to find resting-places for us by the way; and (*c*) that it is accessible to prayer ("arise," "return"). These lessons are not offered as interpretations of the passage, but as lessons which the passage may illustrate without undue violence to its original meaning.

Current Opinion

Christian Unity and the Religion of the Spirit

One of the most significant steps in the development of the ideal of Christian unity into practical working form has been taken by the convention held in Chicago during the month of March, in which the platform for the union of three denominations—the Congregationalists, the United Brethren, and the Protestant Methodists—was discussed. The declaration of faith adopted by the convention will be read with interest, as indicating where Christianity today lays the emphasis. The brief creed of six articles is noteworthy in its distinct recognition of the supreme rights of the inner life of the spirit over against any external authority. The first article affirms that the bond of union "consists of that inward and personal faith in Jesus Christ as our divine Savior and Lord on which all our churches are founded." That this emphasis on inner faith does not mean anarchy, however, is made clear in the rest of the opening sentence, which adds to the inner conviction the spiritual guidance of the Scriptures. This statement, however, is remarkable for the deliberate omission of the word "infallible," which has hitherto characterized Protestant confessions of faith. The churches accept "the Holy Scriptures as the inspired source of our faith and the supreme standard of Christian truth." But in the acceptance of Scriptures as in the acceptance of the "substance of Christian doctrine" in the historical creeds of the various churches, it is evident that it is the spiritual content of Scripture and creed, and not any legal authority, which is foremost. The section closes with the words: "But we humbly depend, as did our fathers, on the continued guidance of the Holy Spirit to lead us into all the truth."

Where doctrinal points are touched, the language used is religious and suggestive, rather than exactly theological. There is no explicit mention of the doctrine of the Trinity, of the nature of the atonement, of the nature and origin of sin, of the two natures in Christ, or of the ultimate fate of the wicked. But the redemptive mission of Jesus, the religious and moral life awakened by the Spirit, the assurance of divine favor, the spiritual function of the church, and the exaltation of Christian service in the world are set forth with no uncertain sound. The atmosphere of freedom is well illustrated by the phrase concerning the organization of the church, in which it is said that Christ "has granted freedom to create such

offices and institutions as may in each generation serve unto those ends" (i. e., of preaching the gospel and of manifesting the fruits of the Spirit).

The day of doctrinal divisions is passing away. Few men care very vitally for the tenets of their particular sect. The real line of demarkation in modern Christianity is between a religion of literalism and a religion of the Spirit. And the greater vitality of the religion of the Spirit is due to the fact that the call of God is seen in the present opportunities to proclaim the gospel and to show the fruits of the Spirit, rather than in legislation given centuries ago, often under conditions which have changed, and to meet problems which are not our problems. The abandonment of the backward look toward external authority, and the decisive emphasis on the call of God to go forward and possess the land, are symptoms of modern Christianity which may well cause us to rejoice. When Christian unity comes, it will be a distinct triumph of the religion of the Spirit.

The Posthumous Radicalism of Dr. Salmon

For the past generation Salmon's *Introduction to the New Testament* has been the very bulwark of conservative position as to the New Testament. Its author died the recognized protagonist of a cause. Yet since his death there has appeared a volume written in his old age, which will likely serve to undo much that his other volume accomplished. Not that he became a radical, but that he conceded more than men who do not wait to publish their changed views posthumously are always ready to concede. And this change of mind, rather than his particular position, is the significant thing in his volume, *The Human Element in the Gospel*, for it is symptomatic of the trend of things. There are, of course, men who will prefer Salmon alive to Salmon dead; but it is not likely that ever again a man possessed of his vast learning will write a book taking the positions that Dr. Salmon abandoned. Without observation, and with observation, the reign of the historical-critical method has come. Men are not altogether agreed on results; but they are at least agreed as to method. Complete unanimity of results is a secondary matter. What we really needed has been accomplished, and the center of interest has now passed from the field of criticism pure and simple, to that of the use of the results of criticism in the construction of doctrine.

Socializing Theology

It is no accident that the Macmillans should publish at approximately the same time three volumes dealing with the relation of Christ and social questions. These three volumes—Leighton's *Jesus Christ and the Civilization of Today*, Rauschenbusch's *Christianity and the Social Crisis*, and

Mathews' *The Church and the Changing Order*—illustrate in a remarkable way the new interest of theology and theologians in actual life. The man who passes from the reading of such works—and they are samples of a great class—to the theological treatises of a century ago, finds himself passing into an entirely different world of interests. It is not that the older writings were unimportant or their authors unskilled; in some particulars they are unsurpassed, if not unequaled, by the writers of today. It is rather that the comparison of the two literatures evidences the fact that the theology of today, while not belittling the importance of metaphysics, is really concerned more with concrete matters than with those of speculation and pure logic. This new interest is not unparalleled, for periods of religious transition have always been deeply concerned in social matters; witness Luther, and Augustine, and Wesley. The matter of real significance here is that the church is frankly facing problems which its opponents have charged it with neglecting. Life, it sees, is after all its great field of interest. The welfare of the men and women to whom it ministers is of really more significance than the settlement of prehistorical relations of the persons of the Trinity. To keep this new social interest within the realm of religion, to inspire and direct it by the ideals of real Christianity, we see are matters of importance co-ordinate with, if not superior to, questions of authorship and time of writing of the biblical books. It will be a sorry time for the church when questions of scholarship are no longer honestly faced; but it will be a sorrier time if ever theology reconceives itself as a matter of scholarship primarily.

Book Reviews

The Gift of Tongues and Other Essays. By DAWSON WALKER, M.A., D.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1906. Pp. viii + 248. $1.75.

The first of the four essays which compose this volume has for its problem the reconciling of the apparent discrepancy between the phenomena as set forth by Luke in the second chapter of Acts with Paul's view as set forth in First Corinthians. The solution arrived at is that the two sets of phenomena were generically the same, but specifically different, and that there was actual speaking in foreign tongues on the day of Pentecost. To substantiate this position he quotes several instances of the sudden ability to speak a foreign language under great excitement. This solution of the problem, which is a return to the view of Origen and Jerome, is at best only a temporary makeshift, and will find acceptance with but few critical scholars.

The second essay, entitled "The Legal Terminology in the Epistle to the Galatians," deals with the legal terms of Gal. 3:15—4:7. The author comments on Dr. Halmel's view that Paul is using the technical terminology of Roman law with scientific exactness throughout, and Ramsay's that the apostle has in mind the Greek law and its usage. The author adopts a compromise using the parts of both theories that seem to come nearest his conception of what Paul meant. This view ignores the Jewish conception of law under which Paul was educated, and shows a lack of careful study of Paul's extensive use of the term *νόμος*.

The third essay deals with Paul's visits to Jerusalem. The author first sets forth Ramsay's view, identifying the visit of Gal. 2:1–10 with that of Acts 11:30. He adopts Lightfoot's theory identifying Gal. 2:1–10 with Acts, chap. 15, but places the incident mentioned in Gal. 2:11–14 prior to the events of Gal. 2:1–10.

The fourth essay is concerned with the problem of the early date of both the Gospel of Luke and the Book of Acts. The author agrees with those who assign the year 62 A. D., as the date of the Book of Acts, and by necessity a short time previous to this as the date for the Gospel of Luke. Those passages in the gospel which seem to imply that it was written after the destruction of Jerusalem are interpreted as echoes or remembrances

of the desecration wrought by Antiochus Epiphanes—a supposition which does not seem highly probable.

The book will have little influence on the trend of opinion.

WM. R. SHOEMAKER

MENOMINEE, MICH.

A Manual of Theology. By JOSEPH AGAR BEET. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son, 1906. Pp. xvi+559. $2.75.

Dr. Beet's theology shows very slight influence of modern scholarship, so far as its structure and method are concerned. To be sure, he refuses to attempt to establish the infallibility of Scripture; but his use of the Bible is precisely what it would have been if he had affirmed infallibility. He professes to rest his conclusions on the results of impartial historical study. But throughout the treatise there is the attempt to "harmonize" the teachings of the Bible so as to produce a consistent theological system. Although he devotes forty pages to an examination of the origin and authorship of the books of the Bible, he decides the trustworthiness of the Old Testament by an appeal to the infallibility of the New Testament. "This compels us to believe either that the Old Testament is substantially true, or that they to whom the Incarnate Son intrusted the gospel of salvation were in serious error, touching the ancient records to which they constantly appealed." Thus, after all, the criterion for Dr. Beet is not the result of historical investigation, but the authority of scriptural writers.

Accordingly, we find theology presented as a summary of biblical teachings, collected by the traditional manner of proof-texts. The historicity of Adam and the Adamic origin of sin are not questioned. From reading Dr. Beet's book, no one would suppose that these had ever been questioned. The retention of the word "person" in the doctrine of the Trinity leads to an undisguised tritheism. The central doctrine of theology for Dr. Beet is the physical resurrection of Christ. This life is a probation looking toward the life to come. More than one-sixth of the entire space is devoted to the discussion of events lying beyond the grave. An entire chapter is devoted to the doctrine of angels. Thus the reader is consistently kept in the realm of the supernatural, and theology is regarded as a description of the details of that supernatural realm on the basis of an inspired book which conveys information otherwise unaccessible.

Dr. Beet's well-known views as to the nature of the Christian life and the conditions of immortality find here a full exposition. The religious tone of the treatise prevents it from being a dry compendium of proof-texts.

But one who has accepted the historical method of studying the Bible will be unable to use the book for anything more than an expression of Dr. Beet's own convictions.

GERALD BIRNEY SMITH.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Special Introduction to the Study of the Old Testament. By FRANCIS E. GIGOT. Part II, Didactic Books and Prophetical Writings. New York: Benziger Brothers, 1906. Pp. 505. $2 net.

The earlier works of Gigot, covering general introduction and biblical history, have largely determined his method, general position, and spirit. He belongs to the progressive wing of the Roman Catholic church, but is cautious enough not to go beyond the bounds of securing the *imprimatur* of the archbishop of New York, inscribed on the back of the title-page of this volume.

The large amount of space (500 pages) devoted to the treatment of the didactic and prophetic writings is due to the care with which the author sets forth the pros and cons on every disputed question of authorship. It is very evident that Gigot is distinctively progressive in his own thinking; but his method of presenting the arguments on any disputed question—for example, the authorship and date of Isaiah, chaps. 40–66, and of Daniel—leaves the reader, as a rule, suspended in mid-air. In other words, he is so non-committal that only an expert can detect his position.

In thus presenting both sides—the conservative first, and the radical second—he is doing a valuable service for biblical study. He is thus almost always sympathetically arranging in order the best reasons for a historical and modern view of Old Testament literature. Merely the reading of these arguments will set forth their reasonableness to thoughtful readers, and give them to a public that probably would not otherwise find them.

The extreme caution of the author may be seen in his discussion of Daniel. He says (p. 348): "Hence the date of the Book of Daniel is 570–536." But after thirty pages of discussion of the arguments for a late authorship, he says (p. 379): "Catholic writers generally are reluctant to depart from the time-honored opinion that Daniel is the author of the book which bears his name."

The book will serve its purpose well, viz.: to promulgate among Romanists a broader, larger conception of biblical criticism. The modern, up-to-date Protestant biblical student will find little that will be of value in his views of Old Testament introduction.

IRA M. PRICE

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New Literature

OLD TESTAMENT

BOOKS

CORNILL, C. H. Introduction to the Canonical Books of the Old Testament. Translated by G. H. BOX. [Theological Translation Library, Vol. XXIII.] New York: Putnam, 1907. Pp. xii+556.

Cornill's *Einleitung* has long held its place in Germany as the most popular introduction to the Old Testament literature. It should find a hearty welcome in its English form among the English-speaking peoples. As compared with Driver's well-known *Introduction*, it is easier reading, and at the same time is characterized by a bolder critical attitude. The work of translation has been well done.

VINCENT, H. Canaan d'après l'exploration récente. [Etudes bibliques.] Paris: Gabalda, 1907. Pp. xii+494.

One of the clearest and best presentations of the results of recent Palestinian excavation and discovery that has yet been made. It covers the work done since 1890 A. D. In addition to his critical attitude and scholarly equipment in general, the author has had the advantage of extended residence in Palestine, and so speaks with the authority of an eyewitness. A series of 310 illustrations, carefully chosen, adds much to the value of the book.

CARUS, P. The Story of Samson, and Its Place in the Religious Development of Mankind. Chicago: Open Court Publishing Co., 1907. Pp. viii+183.

This beautifully illustrated book abounds in parallels to the Samson story from other literatures than the Hebrew, and sets forth the unhistorical character of the story as a sun-myth. The view is not new, but is more fully presented here than elsewhere.

ARTICLES

Die Theologie der Gegenwart. Herausgegeben von Grützmacher, Hunzinger, Köberle, Sachsse, Seeberg, von Walter. Leipzig: Deichert, 1907. Subscription price, M. 3.50 per annum.

The first number of this new German periodical has recently appeared, and from it may be learned the character of the journal. This first issue is devoted to a review of recent publications on Old Testament science. It is designed to supply a need not satisfied by other bibliographical publications, such as the *Theologische Rundschau*. Its aim is therefore to devote itself to the really important publications, and to indicate the trend of current scholarship in general, rather than to confine itself to isolated publications. This Old Testament number has succeeded fairly well in the attainment of these ends. But the character of the judgment passed upon recent Old Testament literature is, of course, determined by the critical and theological standpoint of the judge, Professor Köberle, who is well known as mediating between the old and the new.

NEW TESTAMENT

BOOKS

KELLY, WILLIAM. An Exposition of the Gospel of Mark. Edited by E. E. WHITFIELD. London: Elliot Stock, 1907. Pp. vi+282. 5*s*.

Lectures published forty years ago in the *Bible Treasury* are now issued as a volume. A dogmatic temper and a mechanical idea of inspiration characterize them.

AYRES, S. G. Jesus Christ Our Lord: An English Bibliography. New York: Armstrong, 1906. Pp. 502. $3 90.

While there is much that is worthless and antiquated in these lists, and a somewhat dogmatic point of view is occasionally revealed, this book will doubtless fill a certain want. It is not especially intended for students, but perhaps mainly for a more general public. Only books in English are included. Some important titles are omitted.

HUBBARD, G. H. The Teachings of Jesus in Parables. Boston: The Pilgrim Press, 1907. Pp. xii+507. $1.50.

These popular and interesting expositions of the parables reveal clear religious insight, practical

common-sense, and no small degree of literary skill.

BALJON, J. M. S. Commentar op de Brieven van Paulus aan de Thessalonikers, Efeziers, Kolossers en aan Filemon. Utrecht: Van Boekhoven, 1907. Pp. 357.

To his other extensive exegetical works, covering quite half the New Testament, Dr. Baljon has now added this volume, embodying a translation of the epistles named, together with extended and scholarly comment, but without introductions. Dr. Baljon accepts these epistles as Paul's.

THOMSEN, PETER. Loca Sanita. Verzeichnis der im 1. bis 6. Jahr. hundert n. Chr. erwähuten Ortschaften Palästinas. Mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Lokalisierung der biblischen Stätten. I Band. Halle: R. Haupt, 1907. Pp. xvi+143.

A valuable list of places mentioned in early Christian and contemporary literature, with references to the sources, and equivalents. This work promises to be an important contribution to the historical geography of Palestine.

MATHEWS, SHAILER. The Church and the Changing Order. New York: Macmillan, 1907. Pp. viii+255. $1.50.

A vigorous and timely discussion of the practical problem now before the church of adjustment to modern temper and conditions. Professor Mathews vigorously champions the gospel of historic fact, and points the way to its effective preaching; while he has diagnosed the disorders of the modern world with a skill and range rare indeed.

GARDNER, PERCY. The Growth of Christianity. (London Lectures.) London: A. and C. Black, 1907. Pp.xiv +278. *3s. 6d.*

Professor Gardner believes "in spiritual as distinct from . . . . materialized Christianity, and are acceptance of evolutionary views of the history of the Christian society." His new book is an able and striking interpretation of the history of the church, from a somewhat unusual point of view. The author's intimate knowledge of Greek and Roman life make his chapters on their contribution to Christianity of especial value.

LEIGHTON, J. A. Jesus Christ and the Civilization of To-Day. The Ethical Teaching of Jesus Considered in Its Bearings on the Moral Foundations of Modern Culture. New York: Macmillan, 1907. Pp. x+248. $1.50 net.

A careful study of the ethical and religious thought of Jesus, with an account of its bearing on the spiritual life of today.



MOSES

THE BIBLICAL WORLD

VOLUME XXX AUGUST, 1907 NUMBER 2

Editorial

WILL THE STATE DISPLACE THE CHURCH?

THE TRANSFER OF FUNCTIONS FROM CHURCH TO STATE

In a recent number of the *International Journal of Ethics*, Professor Edward O. Sisson calls attention to the many ways in which the state has been and still is absorbing the functions formerly discharged by the church. Reminding us that the ancient pre-Christian state included religion in itself, and that the process that went on in the early Christian centuries was one of adoption by the church of functions anciently belonging to the state, or of creation of functions which in ancient society scarcely existed at all, he goes on to point out that we are now witnessing a reversal of this earlier process. Education, the relief of poverty, the defense of the weak against the strong both in the matter of affording asylum to the accused and in the protection of employees against employers, and now at last even the "cure of souls," to the extent at least of seeking the reform and reinstatement of the criminal—all these originally belonging to the church and in large part its creation, are now in process of passing over into the hands of the state. With what feeling must the church view this process which is undoubtedly going on under our eyes? Should it arouse apprehension and lead to efforts to check it, or should we rather rejoice in it as evidence of the gradual accomplishment of the things for which the church exists?

CHURCH AND STATE NOT MUTUALLY EXCLUSIVE

In discussing the question we must at once dismiss the thought of two mutually exclusive bodies of people, the one making up the church and the other the state, and each contending for control of

the same area of life. As matters are in this country at least, and to a very large extent in European countries also, what we actually have is on the one hand the state, in which all the people have part and the activities of which are directed by officials elected by those members of the community who have the right of suffrage, and on the other hand the church, made up of those who from a religious motive have associated themselves together for the accomplishment of certain moral and religious ends. The church then which is numerically speaking a part of the state differs from it besides, in the voluntariness of its organization and activities, and in the religious motive leading to these. When, therefore, we speak of the absorption by the state of functions once discharged by the church we really mean that the whole people is taking over to itself, and intrusting to officials who represent the whole people, functions once discharged voluntarily by a part of the people; and our question is simply whether such a process of transfer from a voluntary organization of a part of the people impelled by a religious motive, to that organism which represents the whole people, is a healthy one to be viewed with approval, or an unhealthy one to be watched with fear.

HISTORY JUSTIFIES THE EXISTENCE OF THE CHURCH

Let it be observed in the first place that the very process which Professor Sisson describes, first of the creation by the church of functions either not previously existing, or ineffectively discharged by the state, and then the gradual absorption of these by the state itself, fully justifies the existence and work of the church thus far. It was the principle of love for which the church stood that led to the establishment of those educational institutions which, originally controlled and supported by the church, have developed into that widespread and constantly growing system of education of which the modern world today is possessed. It was the church also that first undertook effective means for the relief of the sick and the poor and the insane. Modern organized charity, modern hospitals and asylums for the insane, all owe their origin to the voluntary activity of the church. The juvenile court and the schools for reformation, displacing punishment for its own sake, must also be recognized as, equally with these other institutions and activities, the product of

that spirit of which the church has been through all the Christian centuries the pre-eminent representative.

LIMITS TO THE PROCESS OF ABSORPTION

Let it then be observed in the second place that a doctrinaire absorption by the state of functions discharged by the church on the basis of a theory that the state ought to do these things, accompanied by an elimination of the very best elements in these activities on the ground that the state cannot include these elements in its work, is to be deplored. The application of such a theory would make not for the promotion of the well-being of the citizens of the state, but to the defeat of the end sought alike by church and state. It is a serious question whether something very much like this has not already taken place in the educational sphere; whether the state in taking over from the church the task of education has not to some extent eliminated from its educational work some of those elements which it is most necessary to preserve. The problem is a difficult one. But the principle which we have stated is obviously sound. If the state takes over functions once discharged by the church it must not at the same time emasculate them of that which is most vital.

VOLUNTARY EFFORT CANNOT BE ELIMINATED

And this leads us to recognize further that the elimination of the voluntary element from all forms of activity which have to do with the promotion of the well-being of the state through the improvement of individuals is in itself thoroughly undesirable. Much that was once done by the human hand is now better done by machinery invented by the human mind. But there are limits beyond which this process cannot be profitably carried. For the care and nurture of little children, the correction of the erring and the weak, the admonition of the tempted and the straying—for these and many other like tasks no machinery can ever be invented. Something may be done even officially to systematize the work and oversee the agencies by which it is accomplished, but into it there must always enter an element of voluntariness, of choice, of unselfish love for the work and for those who are to be benefited by it. Professor Sisson inter-

estingly calls attention to the fact that in this process of absorption of churchly functions by the state the spirit of love which originated them has been retained in their assumption by the state. But until the state shall have become not only thoroughly permeated with the spirit of Christian love, but shall also have acquired a certain delicacy of touch which we are not wont to associate with legalism and officialism, a voluntary organization controlled, as the church is, by the highest and most spiritual motives must continue its work.

THE CHURCH AS THE HOME OF RELIGION

But if the church must continue to exist for the doing of a type of work which the state as such can never hope to accomplish, it is yet more certain that it must continue in order to foster and nourish that religious life without which love itself would languish and die. For there is nothing which the past history of religion has more certainly proved than this, that in the long run morality must be rooted in religion. The Pauline formula, "faith working through love," correctly expresses the verdict of the world's experience in this matter. Christianity is right as against all opponents in this at least, that social ethics and social well-being must find their basis in religion. Non-religious ethical culture is inadequate to the task of promoting human well-being, even in those spheres which such ethical culture itself recognizes. And because this is so there will always be need of a hearth and home where faith, fellowship with the Unseen, shall be nourished and sustained; for without this love itself must eventually wither and die.

Nor can the church ever have a more important duty than this. To discharge this faithfully and successfully is to guarantee the fulfilment of the more external tasks of education, charity and the like; whether through the state or the church is relatively immaterial. But to fail in this fundamental task is to fail in all. For while a church animated with the spirit of religion may so permeate the state with the spirit of love that all the needful institutions of education and charity may flourish, the state can never create religion where it does not exist. For how shall the whole people possess aspiration and zeal for such a task when not even a part of the people are sufficiently filled with the religious spirit to be moved to undertake it? Nor can the day be near, if indeed it can ever come, when to the

state can safely be intrusted even the nourishment and development of religion. For how can that, which in its very nature represents the average life of the people and does what it does by authority, accomplish what must by its very nature be the voluntary expression of the highest and deepest life that exists in the people?

THE PERMANENT NEED FOR THE CHURCH, AND ITS PRESENT TASK

If, indeed, we may look forward to a period when the state shall be as fully controlled by love as it is the Christian ideal of the church to be controlled, then indeed we may view without apprehension the increasing absorption by the state of those external functions which once belonged exclusively to the church. For this is simply to say that when the whole people is as fully controlled by the highest ideals as it is now the ideal of a part of the people to be controlled, then the whole people may safely be trusted to do what once only a part of the people were either fit to do or cared to do. But not even then will the Church be without a mission. To it will still belong the deeper and more delicate task. What has already been achieved—the gradual Christianization of the state, the gradual absorption by it of functions once discharged by the church without the loss of that spirit of love in which they were originally developed by the church—all this the church has accomplished precisely through the cultivation of pure religion in the hearts of the people. In this same direction lie also its present duty and opportunity. By the presentation of religious truth and the highest ideals of personal life, by the lifting up of the fallen, by the encouragement of the faint-hearted, by the development, by all means in its power of pure, strong, personal character, it will be at the same time doing that work of which the state has not yet shown itself capable, and preparing the state for the possible future enlargement of its own sphere of activities. The voluntary minister of religion, the voluntary Christian church, is still and must be for many years to come, a necessity not only to the development of the highest type of man, but even to the further Christianization of the state. To keep alive the flame of spiritual life which furnishes the impulse and the power for all good works in church or state—this is the supreme task of the church, and than it there can be no higher.

JERUSALEM IN BIBLE TIMES

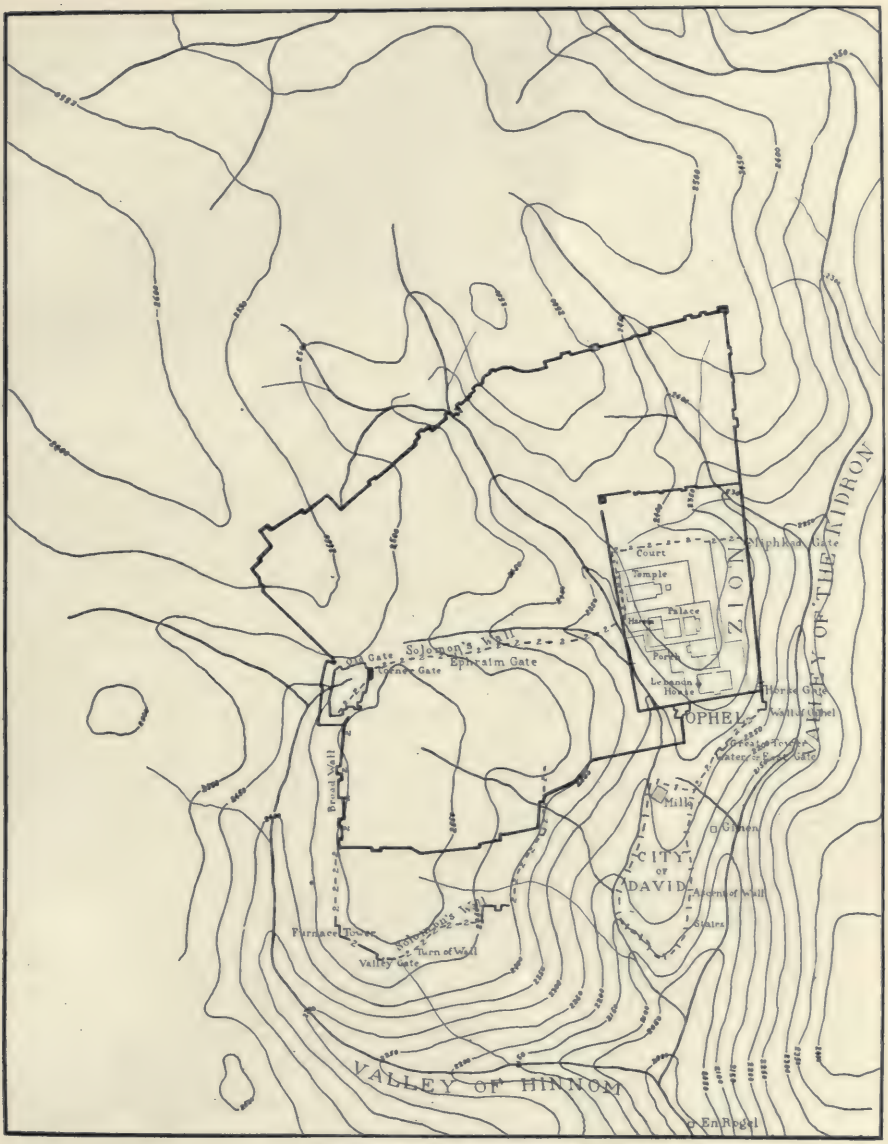
PROFESSOR LEWIS BAYLES PATON, PH.D.,D.D.
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VIII. SOLOMON'S WALL

In II Sam. 5:9 we are told that David built the wall of the City of David. In I Kings 3:1 we are told that Solomon built the wall of Jerusalem round about (cf. 9:15). This indicates that "Jerusalem" is a larger idea than "City of David." Nowhere is it said that David inclosed Jerusalem, nor that Solomon increased the area of the City of David. This wall of Solomon cannot be identified with the outer wall of the Great Court of the Temple, since that is included in the building of the Temple that is also mentioned in these passages, and since such a wall could not be called "the wall of Jerusalem." It cannot have been a new wall on the east, since additional fortification in that direction was unnecessary, and since in the time of Hezekiah Jerusalem was still touched on that side by the fields of Kidron (II Kings 23:4). The new wall, therefore, must have inclosed the western hill, which was the only direction in which the city could expand.

Additional evidence in favor of this view is found in the statement of I Kings 3:1, that Solomon brought Pharaoh's daughter into the City of David, until he had made an end of building his own house, and the house of the Lord, and the wall of Jerusalem round about. This implies that the City of David was the only fortified place until the wall of Jerusalem was built; but after it was finished, it was possible for his wife to leave the City of David.

In I Kings 8:1=II Chron. 5:2 we are told: "Then Solomon assembled the elders of Israel, and all the heads of the tribes, the princes of the fathers' houses of the children of Israel, unto king Solomon in Jerusalem, to bring up the ark of the covenant of the Lord out of the City of David, which is Zion." Here Jerusalem is contrasted with the City of David. The City of David is the place where the Ark has been kept; it is to be brought up out of this but it is still to remain in Jerusalem.



THE CITY OF SOLOMON

In II Kings 14:13=II Chron. 25:23 we read that Jehoash, king of Israel, after his defeat of Amaziah, king of Judah, "broke down the wall of Jerusalem from the Gate of Ephraim into the Corner

Gate four hundred cubits." The wall thus broken down must have been the northern wall, since this was most accessible to the king of Israel, and since this was the weakest side of the city. The name "Gate of Ephraim" also suggests a northern location, inasmuch as Ephraim lay to the north of Jerusalem. This wall cannot have been the wall of the Temple, since the northern gate of the Temple was known as the Gate of Benjamin (cf. Jer. 20:2; 37:13), and since no Corner Gate of the Temple is mentioned. The distance, 400 cubits, between the Gate of Ephraim and the Corner Gate is also greater than the distance from the Gate of Benjamin to the corner of the Temple. Moreover, the king of Israel would not have been likely to desecrate the Temple; and if he had been rash enough to do so, this fact would have been mentioned by the historian. Consequently, we must look for the Gate of Ephraim and the Corner Gate north of the west hill, rather than north of the east hill. The Corner Gate must have lain somewhere near the modern Jaffa Gate, and the Gate of Ephraim midway between it and the west wall of the Temple. In that case the west hill of Jerusalem must have been inclosed as early as the time of Amaziah; and since no building operations are recorded, or are likely, between the time of Solomon and that of Hezekiah, it is safe to infer that Solomon's wall included the west hill.

II Kings 9:28 narrates of Ahaziah: "And his servants carried him in a chariot to Jerusalem and buried him in his sepulcher with his fathers in the City of David." II Kings 14:20 states of Amaziah: "And he was buried at Jerusalem with his fathers in the City of David." In these passages the City of David seems to be distinguished from Jerusalem as a part from the whole.

Isa. 10:12 speaks of Zion and Jerusalem. Jerusalem, accordingly, cannot be identical with Zion or the eastern hill, but must also include the western hill. Isa. 10:32 speaks of "the mount of the daughter of Zion, the hill of Jerusalem." Here, apparently, the eastern hill is described as a part of the city of Jerusalem. Isa. 22:9,10 contrasts Jerusalem with the City of David. Isa. 30:19 speaks of the people that dwell "in Zion in Jerusalem." If the text be correct, this indicates that Zion was a quarter of Jerusalem; and even if the reading "Zion and Jerusalem" be adopted, a distinction is still made between the two names.

Jer. 51:35 reads: "The violence done to me and to my flesh be upon Babylon, shall the inhabitant of Zion say; and, My blood be upon the inhabitants of Chaldea, shall Jerusalem say." Here Zion is put in poetic parallelism with Babylon, and Jerusalem with Chaldea. We infer from this that Zion bore to Jerusalem the same relation of part to whole that Babylon did to Chaldea. The number of people carried captive by Nebuchadrezzar (Jer. 52:30) is inconsistent with the idea that Jerusalem was limited to the east hill down to the time of the exile. Zech. 1:14 speaks of Jerusalem and Zion as though they were distinct from one another. In Neh. 3:15; 12:37, the City of David is clearly not synonymous with Jerusalem, but is merely a quarter that is used, like other landmarks, to describe the course of the wall.

Neh. 2:13 states that Nehemiah set out at the Valley Gate and rode down toward the Dragon's Well and the Dung Gate and viewed the walls of Jerusalem which were broken down. II Chron. 26:9 states that "Uzziah built towers in Jerusalem at the Corner Gate, and at the Valley Gate, and at the turning of the wall and fortified them." The Valley Gate can only be the gate opening into the *Gai*, the Valley of Hinnom. If, as we have seen, the Valley of Hinnom must be identified with Wâdy er-Rabâbi, then the Valley Gate must have been located somewhere on the western hill. In that case the pre-exilic wall of Jerusalem inclosed the west hill.

Neh. 3:9, 12 speaks of the "ruler of half the district of Jerusalem." The division of Jerusalem into two districts suggests that it lay upon the western as well as the eastern hill. Isa. 24:23; Zech. 12:10; 13:1; Joel 2:32, distinguish between Jerusalem and Zion or the City of David. I Chron. 8:32 and 9:38 describe certain priests as dwelling "in Jerusalem over against their brethren." Most of the priests dwelt in Ophel on the eastern hill, and the description "over against" suggests that these other priests were settled on the western hill. In II Chron. 28:27 we read: "And Ahaz slept with his fathers, and they buried him in the city, even in Jerusalem; for they brought him not into the sepulchers of the kings of Israel." Here Jerusalem is clearly distinguished from the City of David. Ahaz was not buried in the tombs of the kings on the eastern hill, and yet he was buried in Jerusalem. II Chron. 33:15 distinguishes between the

mount of the house of the Lord and Jerusalem. The same is true of I Macc. 10:10 f.; 16:20. Josephus' description of the city of Solomon in *Ant.*, viii, 2:1; 6:1; 7:7, indicates his belief that this city occupied the west hill as well as the east. Accordingly, there appears to be a considerable body of evidence, extending from the earliest times down to Josephus, that indicates that the wall of Solomon included the western hill. The view of W. Robertson Smith, presented by George Adam Smith in *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, art. "Jerusalem," that Jerusalem was limited to the eastern hill down to the time of the Hasmoneans, is accordingly to be rejected as untenable.

In regard to the course of Solomon's wall we are dependent upon Josephus' account of the inner wall in his own day. This is described in *Wars*, v, 4:2, as follows:

> Now that wall began on the north at the tower called Hippicus, and extended as far as the Xystus, as it was called; then, joining the Council-House, ended at the west cloister of the Temple. On the other side at the west, beginning at the same place, it extended through a place called Bethso, to the Gate of the Essenes: then, on the south, it made a curve past the fountain of Siloam, after which it also bent again on the east at Solomon's Pool, and reached as far as a certain place which they called Ophel, where it joined to the eastern cloister of the Temple.

In this description Josephus starts with the tower called Hippicus and goes eastward toward the Temple; then he returns to Hippicus and goes southward around the west hill toward Siloam. This shows that Hippicus stood at the northwest corner of the inner city. The same conclusion is necessitated by the description in *Wars*, v, 4:3, 4. These passages lead us to look for Hippicus at a point near the Jaffa Gate in the west wall of the present city. Here two valleys —one running south, the other running east—meet; and here was the natural northwest corner of the ancient city. From Hippicus the wall ran eastward to the west cloister of the Temple. It must, therefore, have followed the brow of the hill above the west arm of the Tyropoeon. There is general agreement that this first wall on the north, which Josephus ascribes to the ancient kings of Judah, is to be identified with the wall built by Solomon. The only remains that have survived in the heart of the modern city are the Tower of Phasaelus, or "Tower of David," and certain rock scarps that underlie the foundations of houses south of the modern David Street. From

Hippicus the wall also ran southward and turned around the end of the western hill. In the grounds of the Protestant Boys' School and the Protestant Cemetery south of the present city wall great rock-cuttings are still visible, which are recognized by nearly all



TOWER PHASAELUS, NOW CALLED "TOWER OF DAVID"

topographers as having formed the foundations of the old south city wall.

At a point east of the Protestant Cemetery two lines of fortification have been traced by Dr. Frederick Bliss.[1] One of these follows the eastern slope of the western hill in a northeasterly direction; the other runs in a southeasterly direction along the south slope of the western hill to the Pool of Siloam. The latter is the course of the

[1] *Excavations in Jerusalem.*

wall described by Josephus; but the inner wall is clearly more ancient, since the outer wall must have been built after an increase of population demanded the addition of a greater area to the city. Probably, therefore, Solomon's wall followed the inner line around the eastern side of the western hill, and then crossed the Tyropoeon near the point where it is crossed by the present city wall, thus joining the



Photograph by L. B. Paton

ROCK SCARP SOUTH OF PROTESTANT SCHOOLS

western wall of Ophel. The upper level was more defensible, and it is not likely that the difficult task of constructing a wall down the steep Valley of Hinnom to the mouth of the Tyropoeon would have been undertaken until the inclosure of this region was rendered necessary by a great increase of population.

The wall of Solomon cannot have included the Lower Pool of Siloam, because, if that had been the case, Hezekiah would not have found it necessary to build a new pool higher up to contain the water that was brought down through the Siloam tunnel. The upper line of wall is also suggested by the statement of II Chron. 26:9

that Uzziah built a tower at the turn of the wall. This implies that the wall on the western hill did not originally run straight to Siloam, as was the case in the time of Josephus, but that it made a bend, as the inner wall does, around the southern end of the western hill.

The fortunes of Judah were at a low ebb during the period between Solomon and Hezekiah and no important building operations are recorded; consequently we must hold that all the gates mentioned during this period were situated in the wall of Solomon.

1. *The Gate of Benjamin.*—In II Kings 15:35=II Chron. 27:3 it is stated that Jotham rebuilt the Upper Gate of the Temple (cf. II Chron. 23:20). In Jer. 20:2 it is stated that Pashhur, the captain of the Temple, put Jeremiah into the stocks in the Upper Gate of Benjamin in the house of Yahweh. This shows that the Upper Gate was identical with the Gate of Benjamin. This gate is again mentioned in Jer. 37:13, where we are told: "When he was in the Gate of Benjamin, a captain of the ward was there . . . . and he laid hold on Jeremiah the prophet." Jeremiah's home was in Anathoth, the modern Anata, which lies north of Jerusalem, and his most natural way of reaching it would have been through one of the northern gates of the city. In Jer. 38:7 we read that the king was sitting in the Gate of Benjamin, and Ebedmelech went out of the king's house and spoke to the king. This implies that the Gate of Benjamin lay near to the Palace. Ezek. 9:2 describes it as "the Upper Gate, which lieth toward the north" (cf. 8:3, 14). Zech. 14:10 says: "Jerusalem shall be lifted up, and shall dwell in her place from Benjamin's Gate unto the place of the First Gate, unto the Corner Gate." This implies that the Gate of Benjamin lay on the opposite side of the city from the Corner Gate. The Corner Gate, as we shall see presently, was situated near the modern Jaffa Gate. From these passages it is clear that the Gate of Benjamin lay in the north wall of the Temple inclosure, which was at the same time the north wall of Solomon's city.

2. *The Gate of Ephraim.*—In II Kings 14:13=II Chron. 25:23 we are told that Jehoash, king of Israel, after his successful war with Amaziah, king of Judah, "broke down the wall of Jerusalem from the Gate of Ephraim to the Corner Gate four hundred cubits." Since Jehoash came from the north, and since the city was most

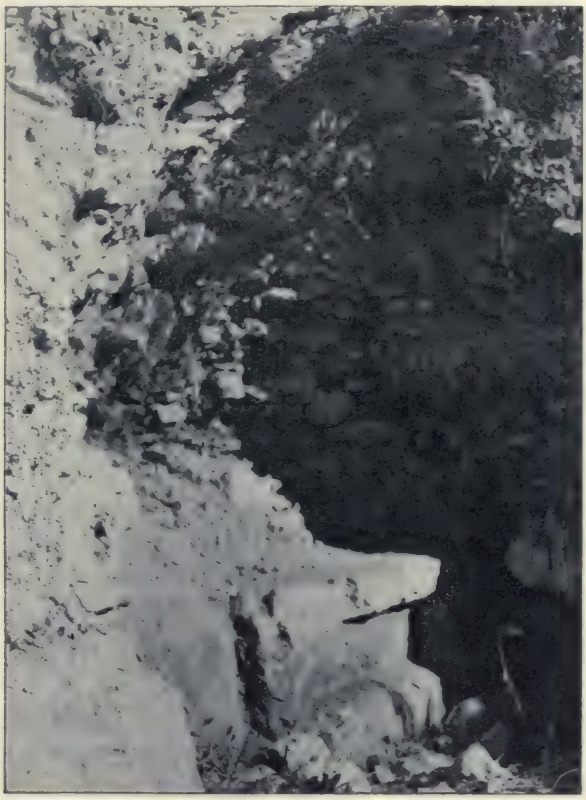
accessible on its northern side, we must infer that the Gate of Ephraim lay in the north wall. This is also implied in the name; the Gate of Ephraim can only mean the gate through which one passes to go to the land of Ephraim. As we have just seen, the gate north of the Temple was known as the Upper Gate, or Gate of Benjamin, and no corner gate of the Temple is ever mentioned; consequently, we must assume that the Gate of Ephraim and the Corner Gate both lay in the wall north of the western hill.

This gate is mentioned in Neh. 8:16, where we read of "the broad place of the Gate of Ephraim;" and in Neh. 12:39, where it is stated that the second company of Levites went from the Broad Wall past the Gate of Ephraim and over the Old Gate. This statement is often interpreted as indicating that the Gate of Ephraim lay in the west wall, so that it still remained one of the city gates after the second wall on the north had been built; but the passage does not state that the Levites passed *over* the Gate of Ephraim, as our English version suggests. The Hebrew word is מִנֶּגֶד, which means "over against." The same expression is used of the passing of the House of David by the Levites in Neh. 12:37. All that this passage indicates, accordingly, is that the Levites, going along the west wall of the city, and then along the second wall on the north, passed by the old Gate of Ephraim, which was on their right in the heart of the city.

3. *The Corner Gate.*—The Corner Gate is mentioned in the same passage with the Gate of Ephraim (II Kings 14:13=II Chron. 25:23), where it is stated that "Jehoash broke down the wall of Jerusalem from the Gate of Ephraim to the Corner Gate four hundred cubits." In II Chron. 26:9 it is stated; "Moreover Uzziah built towers in Jerusalem at the Corner Gate, and at the Valley Gate and at the turning of the wall." The name "Corner Gate" indicates that it stood at a corner of the ancient city. Since there was no corner gate of the Temple, and since the Gate of Ephraim must be sought in the north wall, the Corner Gate can be located only at the northwest corner of the old city—that is, substantially on the site of the modern Jaffa Gate. In Jer. 31:38 it is predicted: "Behold the days come, saith the Lord, that the city shall be built to the Lord from the Tower of Hananel unto the Gate of the Corner." The Tower of Hananel stood at the northeast corner of the new city, and

the Corner Gate is mentioned as lying opposite to it at the northwest corner.

4. *The Valley Gate.*—The Valley Gate is mentioned in II Chron. 26:9, where we are told that "Uzziah built towers in Jerusalem at the Corner Gate and at the Valley Gate, and at the turning of the



Photograph by L. B. Paton

REMAINS OF THE VALLEY GATE

wall." Since the Corner Gate lay at the northwest corner of the city of Solomon, the Valley Gate must have lain south of this in the west or south wall. The name "Valley Gate" indicates that it opened upon the *gai*, or Valley of Hinnom. Hinnom as we have seen, cannot be identified with either the Wâdy Sitti Maryam or El-Wâd, but can be identified only with Wâdy er-Rabâbi, the valley on the west side of the city. At the point where the Wâdy er-Rabâbi changes its

course from a southerly to an easterly direction, Dr. Frederick Bliss discovered, on the southwest slope of the western hill, the remains of an ancient gate. This is probably to be identified with the Valley Gate of the Old Testament. It lay at the junction of the inner wall on the south side of the western hill with the outer wall; and, consequently, it was a gate both of the old inner city and of the later outer city that was formed by the addition of the second wall on the south.

This agrees with the fact that we meet this gate, not only in the fortifications of Uzziah, but also in those of Nehemiah. In Neh. 2:13–15 the governor sets out from the Valley Gate to inspect the ruined walls of Jerusalem:

> And I went out by night by the Valley Gate, even toward the Dragon's Well, and to the Dung Gate, and viewed the walls of Jerusalem, which were broken down, and the gates thereof were consumed with fire. Then I went on to the Fountain Gate and to the King's Pool: but there was no place for the beast that was under me to pass. Then went I up in the night by the Brook, and viewed the wall; and I turned back, and entered the Valley Gate, and so returned.

From this it appears that Nehemiah started at the Valley Gate, rode down to Siloam, up the Kidron Valley and then around the north wall back to the Valley Gate. All this agrees with the view that the Valley Gate was situated at the southwest corner of the city. According to Neh. 3:13, the Valley Gate lay between the Furnace Tower, which is probably to be identified with Maudslay's scarp near the southwest corner of the modern city, and the Pool of Siloam.

The view of Schick,[2] that the Valley Gate is to be identified with the modern Jaffa Gate, is impossible, because in II Chron. 26:9 the Valley Gate is distinguished from the Corner Gate which must have stood where the Jaffa Gate now stands, and because the identification of the Valley Gate with the Jaffa Gate will compel us to put the Old Gate of Neh. 12:39 in the new north wall of the city, whereas its name indicates that it must have lain in the old wall. Moreover, this leaves too great a distance between the Valley Gate and the Dung Gate, which lay at the southern extremity of the city. According to Neh. 3:13, it was 1,000 cubits from the Valley Gate; this corresponds with the location of the Valley Gate at the southwest corner of the city, but not with its location at the northwest Corner.

[2] *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, Vol. XIII, pp. 31 ff.

5. *The Turning of the Wall.*—II Chron. 26:9 mentions the Turning of the Wall in immediate connection with the Corner Gate. The name implies that there was a marked change in the course of the wall at this point. It may naturally be identified with the bend of the inner wall discovered by Bliss on the eastern side of the western hill. The fact that it is not mentioned in any of the later descriptions of the wall also indicates that it lay inside of the second



Photograph by L. B. Paton
ROCK SCARP MARKING TURNING OF INNER WALL

line of fortifications that ran from the Valley Gate to the Pool of Siloam.

6. *The Horse Gate.*—II Kings 11:16=II Chron. 23:15, in describing the downfall of Athaliah, states: "And she went by the way of the horses' entry to the king's house." This shows that the Horse Gate was one of the exits from the Palace, which lay on Ophel south of the Temple. It cannot have been the gate leading from the Palace into the Temple, since Athaliah was seeking to escape from the Temple. It must then have been one of the gates in the outer wall of the city; and since the eastern wall was the only one near to the palace,

it must have been in the eastern wall. Jer. 31:40 necessitates the same view: "And the whole valley of the dead bodies, and of the ashes, and all the fields unto the brook Kidron, unto the corner of the Horse Gate toward the east, shall be holy unto the Lord." Here it is distinctly stated that the corner of the Horse Gate was eastward. Neh. 3:28 describes the Horse Gate as lying on Ophel opposite to the temple. It was repaired by the priests who dwelt in Ophel. Josephus (*Ant.*, ix, 7:3) describes this gate as opening upon the Valley of Kidron. Accordingly, it is evident that the Horse Gate is to be placed in the east wall near the southeast corner of the modern city.

THE CHILD-MIND AND CHILD-RELIGION

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II. THE NATURE OF CHILD CONSCIOUSNESS

It is becoming more and more evident to the present generation that profession, in any way, of an interest in humanity, carries with it an interest in childhood. As set forth in the preceding article[1] this is a crucial fact in conserving the life of the race and in making possible a consistent advance. Any belief in religion as a profound fact of race-life has bound up in it a regard for perfecting the spiritual life of children. It is a healthful habit that is possessing the minds of students and workers to approach their larger problems in a concrete way instead of in the abstract and in general. Ideals are the realest of all real things, but to attain them involves doing the specific thing in an intelligent way. It is well to glow over the ideal of a perfected humanity. It is better, while inspired with the vision of it, to gain some insight, if possible, into some of the ways of making it actual. There is no human race apart from the individuals that compose it, nor any human progress apart from growing persons, any more than there is a foot race without the contestants who take part in it. He who has an abstract faith in an abstract human progress, unless he be a mere dependent, without putting forth the simple effort to rear healthy children and perfect himself, is like a person who would pay the entrance fee and sit out his time watching an imaginary race at a course on which none of the contestants appear. Or to change the figure, there can be no body of adults great in mind and heart unless they have grown from right-minded children, any more than there can be an orchard bearing luscious fruit unless proper regard has first been taken for the seed and tiny trees. A thousand years of cultivation of mature specimens could never produce a seedless prune nor a spineless cactus. Those who have at heart the coming of the perfected life of humanity have spent too much time in cultivating old gnarled orchards and too little in breeding and

[1] *Biblical World*, July, 1907.

rearing the seedlings which are themselves to *be* the beauty and truth and righteousness for which we hope and of which we dream. It is no exaggeration to say that infancy is the most vital spot in the growing life of the race.

This is a simple truth, but one to which men and women were almost entirely blind until the days of Herder, Darwin, and Fiske, and, in education, until Pestalozzi, Herbart, and Froebel. The appreciation of the significance of childhood has been contemporaneous with the establishment of Sunday schools and a heightened interest in "secular" education. This first stage of the problem, that of a recognition of the crucial importance of childhood, has been safely passed. We are at the present time in the midst of its second phase, viz., the full understanding of the fact that *children are different from adults* and, to that extent, must have a different regimen.

The fact of the unlikeness of children and mature persons may be passed over hastily for the reason that it is so fully treated in the literature of child-life. Dr. Oppenheim, for example, in his valuable book, *The Development of the Child*, has devoted two long chapters to describing the contrasts between children and adults in bodily characteristics, and to showing that in no proper sense is the child an adult in miniature. In many respects they are as unlike as if they belonged to entirely different species. Children are toothless, sexless, without cerebral elements for co-ordination, lacking in most of the finer or accessory mechanisms for movement, having many glands dormant that will afterward function, possessing others that will afterward be absorbed, and so on through an extended catalogue. The mental unlikenesses are equally great and fully as numerous. Children are sensori-motor in mental furnishing, are largely dominated by a few primitive instincts, are controlled by appetites and passions, are crudely imaginative, are at once credulous and skeptical, and in general the centers of organization of their personalities are other than with their elders. These differences are sufficiently appreciated to have brought about already marked changes in methods of instruction and in the selection of material that will be the proper food for children of various ages.

The readjustments in this respect have been as rapid as is wholesome. There is so little known, as yet, about the inner mental and

spiritual life of children that radical changes in methods and subject-matter might be equivalent to the substitution of one set of errors for another. This feeling has ushered in the third and more important phase of the problem, viz., what are the *essential respects* in which children differ from adults? In other words, the question has come to be a distinctly psychological one, that of rightly interpreting the nature of the mental life of children, just as medicine has become fundamentally a matter of physiology and chemistry, and horticulture one of botany and organic chemistry.

By the help of the collective results of comparative psychology and child-study, we are to try, in this article, to gain an insight into some of the likenesses and differences between the mental life of children and adults. We shall notice first some of the essential characteristics they possess in common, some of which, at first thought, will seem to be differences.

1. It has often been stated, for example, even by high authorities, that children are passive and later develop the power of voluntary control. "In the new-born babe," says Mr. Drummond, "there is no appearance of volition, but as the child grows the will appears very gradually." On the contrary, it seems truer to say, and that without sophistry and without a free and easy use of the term "will," that children from the earliest days manifest the power of volition as strongly as do their elders. Preyer agrees with the sentiment just quoted, and believes that willed acts take place only after the first three months. The difficulty is with an artificial criterion of the presence of volition. "Every willed movement is preceded by ideas, is previously known in the experience of the one who executes it, has an aim, and may be inhibited by other ideas." This definition makes, as Irving King has pointed out, an impassable gap between earlier and later forms of activity, for example, between voluntary and imitative activity. Those, also, who, like Baldwin, make the criterion of willed acts the presence of an imitation of an external "copy," or something internal arising in its own memory, imagination, or thought, seem to have made an artificial separation of willed and instinctive acts. Under this conception the will must spring up at about the third month entirely *de novo*, or must arise out of something entirely unlike itself, viz., acts performed at first wholly mechanically. Such a con-

ception genetic psychology, which tries to preserve the unity and continuity of life, cannot consistently entertain. It is fairer to define the will as the power of consciousness to focalize upon any object of interest or desire. This point of view saves the continuity of the developmental process and includes under a single term, aspects of consciousness that cannot be separated by their descriptive features. In the sucking act, for instance, the complete abandon of the mental life of the baby to its object and its entire focalization upon it is not unlike, in the essential characters that concern the will, the behavior of a savage in the chase or of an architect in planning a house. There are vital differences, to be sure, which it shall be our business presently to specify. It is not at all illuminating to claim, as is often done, that the act of the child is more physiological and of the adult more psychological. An act of will, whether in animal, child, or man, can be described in both mental and neural terms, and it is doubtful if the effort of a baby of one month to turn the head and hold the eyes upon a bright splotch of light is more "physiological" than is the act of a Newton to solve the relation of the moon and earth. Both are wholly conditioned by neural processes, and both are mental acts.

Whether the will of a child is of a piece with the world-will after the manner of Schopenhauer, or is identical with the will to live of animal and plant kingdoms and with the persistence of species is a question for philosophy; but in its psychological aspects it has its setting among organic traits and temperamental peculiarities that are native to the individual. Its marks are the tight fists of the tiny infant, the precise, vigorous movements of its limbs, the demand for food accompanied by appropriate crying tones emphasized by kicking and twisting, the persistence it shows in turning the head or bending the body to keep its eyes upon mother or nurse or other desired object, and its obstinacy in gaining any of its ends. It is not unlikely that the strength of will during the earliest weeks is a fair index of its strength in later years.

2. A true *sense of self* is often regarded as belonging to later years and not to little children. This notion has arisen from an artificial separation of the abstracted ideational self and the instinctive self-feeling. It is usually not until the teens that an abstract conception of the self is possible, and not until later can one distinguish an abso-

lute *ego* of which the different states and processes are a modification. The sense of self is no less intense, however, in those experiences so common earlier than the teens, as G. Stanley Hall has shown, when the insistent questionings arise in the child's mind of whence he came, why he is here, what he would be had his father and mother not been themselves, and the like. Still earlier evidences of a vivid sense of self are found in the craving for approbation, the pleasure in pretty clothing and in self-adornment, the pride and vanity, and the demand for their own rights of even very young children. Indeed the self-feeling will never be stronger than during the fourth and fifth year. Without hazarding the psychologist's fallacy of reading states of consciousness into new-born children, there is no danger in asserting the presence of a highly developed self-feeling during the second half of the first year. It is betrayed behind such facts as the child's sense of ownership of its own toys, chair, or crib, its resentfulness at interference with its wishes, its persistent wish to feed or otherwise help itself, and in manipulation of blocks, rattling of keys, tearing of papers, and the like. Many such acts arise in "the feeling of its own power generated by the movements originated by the child himself, and in the proud sense of being a cause."

Preyer who several years ago set the pattern for the thinking on the genesis of the sense of self, made a faulty analysis of its beginnings, which has been generally repeated since. His data were derived chiefly from the child's treatment of the parts of its own body, its behavior before a mirror and in the use of the first personal pronoun. During the first and the early part of the second years he observes and handles the parts of his body precisely as if they were objects and not parts of himself. This fact is interpreted to mean the absence of a self-consciousness. In learning to distinguish his members from other things, there "arises the definite separation of object and subject in the child's intellect. In the beginning the child is new to himself, namely, to the representational apparatus that gets its development only after birth; later, after he has become acquainted with himself, after he, namely, his body, has lost the charm of its novelty for him, i. e., for the representational apparatus in his brain, a dim feeling of the 'I' exists, and by means of further abstraction the concept of the 'I' is formed." It will be noticed that the separation

of subject and object is a problem for the "intellect," and that Preyer identifies the sense of self with the I-"concept," or with the "representational apparatus in the brain." This, again, is inconsistent with a developmental psychology, and to hold such a view the author must make a sharp distinction between the lower nerve-centers and the representational centers in the brain. This he proceeds to do. Because the new-born baby reacts consistently as an individual and can "suck, cry, move the limbs, and feel," he believes there is a spinal-marrow *ego* and an *ego* of the brain which "are absolutely isolated from each other." "When a normal babe plays with its feet or bites itself in the arm as it would bite a biscuit, we have in this a proof that the brain with its perceptive apparatus is independent of the spinal-marrow." The point to observe is that the "spinal-marrow *ego*-consciousness" in its development constantly comes upon new phenomena that must be assimilated, and its blunders and awkwardness in the act of assimilation are due to the newness and strangeness of the experiences, and not to the lack of a sense of self. As well say that the curious interest of a youth in his newly started mustache were the sign of the growth of a higher representational self which is "absolutely isolated" from his lower *ego*. It is conceivable that a fully matured man, if he had lived in a world otherwise similar to the present, but without experiences of reflecting mediums, would betray the same naïveté in grasping the relationship between himself and his reflected image as does the infant. The aspects of self-consciousness throughout from the earliest probably form an entire continuum, and each higher phase is a mere blossoming out of a lower. The mastery of the first personal pronoun, which we may safely assume was wrongly used in the third person out of imitation of parents, is a mere incident in learning to handle a new tool, the use of language. If this point of view of continuity of the sense of self is true, the question then of how the *ego* can be an aggregate of sense-experiences and sensation-complexes does not exist, for the self, in so far as we know it in its psychological manifestations, presents a unitary appearance from the outset.

3. The ability to *reason* is often supposed to be the true differentiation between animal and human, children and adults. One of the useful definitions of reason is, somewhat after the manner of James,

the employment of a means in securing an end. This specifies most tersely the nature of the perfected reasoning process. There is invariably an ulterior end that is sought and the premises or data used are hunted out as convenient stepping-stones for arriving at the desired result. This definition brings reasoning in line with the behavior of little children. Kirkpatrick, after describing accurately the steps in the growth of the complex act, says rightly: "Reasoning is first instinctive, sensory, and practical, then conscious, imaginative, and individual, and finally abstract, analytic, and general." A few instances will serve to indicate the quality of reasoning in some of its earlier stages. When the little boy, R., was four months old, he was playing one day on the floor surrounded by his toys. One toy rolled away beyond his reach. He seized a clothes-pin and used it as a "rake" with which to draw the toy within reach of his hand. Mr. Darwin laid his finger within the palm of his child five months old. The child closed his fingers around it and carried it to his mouth. When he found he was hindered from sucking it by his own fingers getting in the way, he loosened his hold and took a new hold farther down, then vigorously sucked the finger (Tracy). Children early learn that crying will bring sympathy and that feigned good cheer or affection will ward off punishment. The skill displayed in adapting means to ends through an intermediate step in these ways is an indication that this procedure fills a large place in the consciousness of small children. It is not to be contrasted in kind with the more complicated acts of the scientist.

4. The minor processes presupposed in reasoning—discrimination, memory and association, judgment, etc., can all be readily observed in the child's consciousness, whether or not they combine into a specific act of reasoning. Discrimination, which Romanes calls one of the root-principles of mind, does not belong simply to the thought life of a highly developed intellect, but is found in even as refined a form among plants and protoplasmic organisms. Darwin noticed that the tentacles of the Drosera, which close around their prey like the tenacles of a sea-anemone, will not respond to the violent stimulation supplied by a raindrop falling upon their sensitive surfaces or glands, while they will respond to an inconceivably slight stimulus of the kind caused by an exceedingly minute particle of solid matter

exerting by gravity a continuous pressure upon the surfaces. The pressure exerted by a particle of hair, supported by a dense fluid, that could hardly have equalled the millionth of a grain excited them sufficiently to make them close (Romanes). On the contrary the Venus-fly-trap, which closes upon its prey with the suddenness of a spring trap, has a corresponding delicacy of response to impact, but will not respond to pressure. Each kind of plant has that within it which distinguishes or discriminates its own proper stimulus. A like sensitivity and fineness of discrimination is noticeable in many ways in babies. I have observed, for example, that a child of one year could select just by touch, with marvelous quickness, its favorite block which was placed amidst and under a box full of other blocks so nearly like its own that the coarser hand of an adult could hardly distinguish them.

One must assume also that memory and association are present wherever consciousness exists. With this view we have become sufficiently familiar since the rise of English associationism. The process is present unmistakably and continually in children's minds as well as in adults who try to think tersely. A boy of fourteen months was observed to feel his own ears and then his mother's, one day while looking at pictures of rabbits(Tracy). Mrs. Hall's child, by three months, had learned that the sight of his bonnet was a sign that he would be taken out for a ride and greeted it with joy.

The catalogue of common characteristics of the minds of children and of mature persons is already sufficiently extended to have indicated, from several standpoints, the fact that, in respect to "root-principles" or essential qualities of consciousness, no new ones make their appearance. In what, then, consists the difference in the nature of consciousness at the two extremes of its development? A list of a few of the contrasts will lead us still farther into an understanding of the nature of child-consciousness and how it grows.

a) I should be expected to mention the presence or absence of instincts as one of the chief points of differentiation. This distinction seems more specious than real. The child has a number of instincts at first, each showing itself simply by some appropriate expression. These soon become so interlaced that the presence of each is blurred by the rest. Very soon they also become hidden by

the growth of self-consciousness and perception by which instinct passes over into impulse, desire, and aspiration. It is probably nearer the truth to say, as have Romanes and James, that men are possessed of a greater number of instincts than are animals and children.

A real distinction is in the degree of complexity at the two extremes. The mental life of the child is relatively simple. The hereditary strains within it have been sparingly chosen in the course of evolution, and even then the child at birth is on a level with a type of life far lower in the scale of development than his own species, a type which is much simpler than the complex life of the highest mammalia. A convenient analogy to show this difference is found in the nervous system. In the new-born child, while the spinal cord and lower nerve centers are fairly developed and can control the elementary sensory and motor reflexes and the organic functions, the cerebrum is entirely undeveloped. This will afterward consist of several million nerve elements all of which will, presumably, enter into the wonderfully complicated mentality of the mature person.

b) A second difference is but a phase of the last, viz., the remoteness of many of the stimuli to which the adult consciousness responds. They may be remote in time, as when a study of history or archaeology becomes a real factor in the present, or when ideals seem to lead away years or ages in the future. They may be remote in place as when a civilized man feels the pulse of the nations outside his own in distant parts of the earth, or when by the help of telescope, spectroscope, and laws of science he feels himself a citizen of the stellar universe.

c) There is, again, a constant transition from earliest childhood in the nature of the objects of consciousness. This is close akin to the last point, in that it amounts, essentially, to a widening of the range of consciousness. There has taken place constantly the rich differentiation within the mental life which has given rise to the various senses and then within each of the senses until at present the world has assumed the aspect of an indefinite variety of parts and qualities. The method of consciousness in handling its data, whether its range be still narrow or widely extended, is the same.

It is sometimes claimed, for example, that there is a growth from

childhood on, in the power of focalization of consciousness upon a specific object. This is an error arising from judging the power of concentration of child and adult upon the same objects which are still outside the horizon of the child. A child cannot focalize upon a problem in mechanics, but it can upon a simpler problem within its reach: as when a child was observed to remove and replace the lid of a can more than seventy times without stopping and that with constant interest and attention. The amœba digesting its food, the cat watching for a mouse, the babe nursing, the child surrendering himself to the continued fever of a newly learned game, are acts of concentration altogether similar to that of a scientist who devotes hours or days to some technical detail.

d) The most important change, perhaps, that occurs in the growth from childhood consciousness is the growth in self-consciousness. I mean, not the feeling of selfhood spoken of earlier, but the increasing power that states and processes seem to acquire to represent themselves to themselves, or, in other words to appreciate their own inner quality. At first they are "subliminal" and later tend to become states of clear consciousness, the differential mark of which is their degree of self-consciousness. The will and feeling of selfhood are originally, while well organized and insistent, subjective and unreflective. They later develop into self-conscious volition in the one case and, in the other, a self-directing *ego* with a conscious purpose.

The outcome of the discussion up to the present point is that the mental life in its development from childhood on is a continuum. There are no gaps and breaks. The divergent lines that run through the constantly widening range of child-consciousness are continuous with those of mature life. There are, however, vital differences. Our chief concern, in this article, has been to try to see accurately some things that are true in regard to child nature. They may serve us, later, in the greatest of human interests, child culture.

THE NATURE-POETRY OF THE PSALMS

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IV. THE MOUNTAINS, SEA, TREES, AND FLOWERS

How did the mountains appeal to the Hebrew poet? To the Greek and to the poet of the Middle Ages, to Homer and to Dante, they were objects of dreariness and gloom. Tall forests clothed their rough flanks and the wild beast and the outlaw descended from their caves and labyrinths to ravage the fertile plains below. By the Greeks the mountains were regarded with feelings of awe, but mostly with utter aversion. Mounts Olympus and Parnassus were sacred to the gods and to the muses, but their snow-capped summits and inaccessible heights were forbidding. Palestine, however, was a mountainous country. Geographers describe the Holy Land as having all known varieties of mountains. But the majority of these mountains are in reality rolling hills with a fertile soil and are often cultivated to their very summits. On the whole the mountain or hill was a delightful object in the landscape. In earlier times when the religion of the Hebrews was undeveloped and when anthropomorphic conceptions of God were prevalent, the mountains, especially Mount Sinai, were regarded with feelings of awe and fear as being the abode of the Deity, as we have already pointed out in connection with the theophanies, where use was made by the psalmists of such expressions as, "The mountains melted like wax before Jehovah,"[1] and "He touched the mountains, they smoke."[2] In later times, however, the erection of the Temple on Mount Zion, and no doubt the influence of the shrines erected by the foreigners to their gods on the high places, led the people of Israel to look up to the mountains with trust and prayer, so that a psalmist can sing,

> In his hands are the deeps of the earth,
> To him the heights of the mountains belong.

The mountain gradually lost its forbidding aspect and came to be associated with ideas of strength, of fertility, and of joyfulness.

[1] See Ps. 97:5. [2] Pss. 104:32; 144:5.

The idea of strength is beautifully brought out in Psalm 30:

> Through thy grace, O Jehovah, thou hast set me on a firm mountain,
> I shall never be shaken.

A psalmist prays,

> Be thou to me a rock of refuge,
> A mountain-fortress to help me.

Another sings,

> Thou art he who sets fast the mountains by his strength,
> All girded about with might.

The mountains round about Jerusalem were a constant inspiration to Hebrew poets, who beheld in them strong defenders of the Holy City:

> The mountains encircle Jerusalem,
> And Jehovah encircles his people.[3]

References to the cattle on the everlasting mountains, the rich pasturage to be found there, and "a Lebanon of fruit trees," which we noted above, show that the psalmists associated fertility with the mountains. Canaan is called a mountainous range:

> He brought them to his holy territory,
> To the mountainous range which his right hand had won.

The figure of the oil which flowed down Aaron's beard is followed by a felicitous reference to the fertile slopes of the mountains. The oil "is like the dew of Hermon, which flows down on the mountains of Zion." The mountains of Bashan are personified and are regarded as being unfriendly toward and jealous of the lower but favored Mount Zion:

> A mountain-range of God is the range of Bashan,
> A range full of peaks is the range of Bashan.
> Why look ye unfriendly, ye peaks of the mountains,
> At the mount whereon God loves to dwell?

Another sinister reference to mountains occurs in Psalm 76, where the Seleucid, foreign rulers and foes of Israel, are compared to "mountains of prey." Mountains are also spoken of as being homes for the wild goats, the marmots, and the birds.

Some very fine imagery in the Psalms would not have been possible had the Hebrew poets looked on the mountains with fear or aversion. The mountains can be joyful and join in the people's praises to their

[3] References to Mount Zion, Pss. 2:6; 3:4; 14:7; 15:1; 20:2; 24:3; 43:3; 48:1; 74:2; 87:1; 99:9; 132:13.

God; now "Tabor and Hermon praise thy name," again the poet cries, "Let the mountains shout together for joy!" It is on the mountains that the army of the Messiah assembles,

> On holy mountains out of the lap of the dawn,
> The dew of thy young soldiery offers itself to thee.

In the mature thought of a later psalmist, seas, rivers, and mountains rejoiced at the deliverance of Israel from bondage,

> The sea saw it and fled,
> The Jordan ran backward,
> The mountains skipped like rams,
> The hills like young sheep.

There are no grander passages in the Psalter than those which allude to the sea. The sea appealed to the Hebrew poet as being a work of God: "The sea is his, and he made it." The prevailing mood which the sea superinduces in the Psalmist is one of exultation in that it displays the glory of God. It is a fierce monster which God has quelled and to which he has set limits that it dare not pass. As the Psalmist beholds the great breakers come tumbling in upon the beach he exclaims, "Thou art Lord over the arrogant sea; when its surges roar thou hushest them." If man has lordship over the sea it is because God has given him power and skill. "I lay his hand on the sea," says the ancient oracle, "His right hand on the rivers." But it is to God that the sea does obeisance:

> The waters saw thee, O God—
> Saw thee and trembled,
> And the deep floods reared themselves aloft.

The sea is bidden to join in the general thanksgiving to God—"Let the sea roar and the fulness thereof!" Perhaps the most triumphant expression of God's lordship over the sea is contained in Luther's favorite psalm,

> God is our refuge and stronghold,
> A help well proved in distress.
> Therefore we fear not, though the earth bubble,
> And though mountains shake in the heart of the sea.
> Let its billows roar and foam,
> Let mountains quake at its uproar;
> Jehovah Sabaoth is with us,
> The God of Jacob is our fortress.

The Hebrew psalmists then did not dislike the sea as did the Greeks and the people of mediaeval times. They rejoiced in the fact that the sea yielded obedience to God and the mightier the exhibitions of its strength the greater appeared the majesty of the Lord. There are certain expressions in the Psalter which at first sight would incline us to believe that the Hebrew poets hated the sea. The use of such a figure as,

> Flood calls unto flood in the sound of thy heavy shower,
> All thy surges and billows go over me,

would perhaps suggest terror of the sea, but the reference here is either to a heavy rain storm, or to the Jordan in spate, which at full flood dashes over its rocks with a noise as of the breakers of the sea. The reference to the rush of calamitous waters in Psalm 32:6, "the floods of great waters," seems also to be more applicable to the river Jordan or to a spring freshet than to the sea. The vivid image of the saint being engulfed in "deep waters" (Psalm 69:1–3) is clearly a reference to the dangers which threatened the wayfarer in the numerous swamps of Palestine; "the mire of the flood" could scarcely be applicable to the sea. In Psalm 88:7 the "billows" are the floods of the subterranean Sheol.

The only deliberate attempts at describing the sea in a storm occur in Psalms 93 and 107. The former is a very short poem and is in marked contrast to such a sea-piece as the well-known poem of Byron beginning, "Roll on, thou deep and dark blue ocean, roll." Before the Hebrew poet begins his description, he praises his god whose throne stands firm from of old. And how vague and how colorless is his description of the storm itself!

> The streams lifted up, O Jehovah,
> The streams lifted up their roar,
> The streams lifted up their tumult,
> But mightier than the thundering billows,
> Mightier than the breakers of the sea is Jehovah on high!

Here we find no fanciful epithets such as Byron loves to use, but only a few age-old, tremendous words such as a child of today would use in describing the sea. A rude climax is noticeable in these verses. First the floods are agitated; they have lifted up their heads; now

they begin to roar; higher and higher they lift their heads to the heavens in a tumult of harsh voices and far-reaching spray. Then the last lines are heard above the noise of the breakers dashing on the shore as the poet full of exhilaration and delight in the majestic spectacle cries with full voice, "But mightier than the thundering billows is Jehovah on high!"

The writer of Psalm 107 has sailed the deep in ships and from his experience in a storm at sea and a happy deliverance from peril he gives this simple but powerful description,

> They who sail the sea in ships,
> Trafficking over great waters,
> Saw the works of Jehovah,
> And his wonders on the deep.
> He spoke, and caused the stormy wind to rise,
> Which tossed the billows on high;
> They mounted to the sky, they went down to the depths.
> Their courage melted away in their distress,
> They reeled and staggered like men who are drunk,
> And were at their wits' end—
> When they cried to Jehovah in their trouble,
> He brought them out of their distresses;
> He hushed the storm to a gentle whisper,
> And the billows kept silence;
> They were glad, because they were quiet,
> And he led them to the desired haven.

The Hebrew habit of mind, in its love for the salient features of a scene, is revealed once more in this description. There is no color but there is vastness and movement. The picture of the rise of the storm and of its fury is very graphic. "They mounted to the sky, they went down to the depths." The balance and swing of this verse makes it one of the best strokes of genius in the entire body of Hebrew poetry. No marine artist or any modern artificer in words has given to the world a more heart-stirring picture of distress at sea than this ancient poet in his unpretentious but searching phrases. The fondness of the Hebrew poet for quick dramatic turns is seen here in the sudden transition which delivers us in a moment from suspense to relief. And after the hoarse roar of the tempest and the dire extremity of the voyagers how sweet the close of this anthem of the sea,

He hushed the storm to a gentle whisper,
And the billows kept silence;
They were glad, because they were quiet,
And he led them to the desired haven.

Addison never tired of this beautiful poem. He preferred this unambitious description of a ship in a storm to any sea-piece he had ever read, for the poet has not amused himself with little fancies upon the occasion, but has gathered together "those circumstances which are the most apt to terrify the imagination, and which really happened in the raging of a tempest." The largeness and the freshness of the poem, and of the treatment of nature in general by the psalmist poets, lends this perennial charm to their work which holds our hearts when the color and minutiae of modern poems pall and offend.

In the Psalter there are few allusions to trees or flowers. Trees are described only in the most general terms. The only instance in which their color is noted is in the comparison of the wicked to "a luxuriant green cedar" (Ps. 37:35), and where the Psalmist compares himself to "a green olive tree in God's house" (Ps. 52:8) There is only one mention of the palm-tree in the entire Psalter (Ps. 92:12), "The righteous buds forth as a palm-tree, he grows like a cedar of Lebanon." These famous cedars of Lebanon are mentioned in many psalms, and in the hallel chorus of Psalm 148 they receive special honor, being mentioned specifically along with the fruit trees. The cypress is referred to in Psalm 104 as being the stork's house (Ps. 104:17); the fig tree likewise is only mentioned once (Ps. 105:33). The vine is referred to five times. Besides the reference noted above the olive is only mentioned once, but in a simile which shows how much the tree was appreciated despite its scant recognition at the hands of the poets of the Psalter,

Like young olive trees are thy children,
About thy board in a circle.[4]

The willow is referred to only once (Ps. 137:2). The trees of the forest are commanded to sing for joy (Ps. 96:12), and "Ye fruit trees and all ye cedars" are invited to praise the Lord (Ps. 148:9). The fading leaves of the trees, which have figured so prominently in nature-poetry since those ancient days, are not mentioned at

[4] Ps. 128:3.

all by any psalmist. And singularly enough in the whole range of this splendid collection of Hebrew lyrics there is no definite mention of a single flower, although Palestine furnished a carpet of brilliant flowers for the feet of her poets every spring. Nothing beyond the wide allusion to "the flower of the field" betrays the fact that the Hebrew poet ever gave a second glance to the blossom and the bloom of his beautiful land.

We may well conclude this survey of the nature-poetry of the Psalter with an extract from one of the joyous lyrics which a wise editor deemed would provide a fitting close for such an optimistic treasury of song. In Psalm 147 we have spring and summer and winter, the bounty of Nature, the joy of earth; Nature is the servant of a good God, and utters ringing hallels through the revolving years:

> He sends forth his orders to the earth,
> His word runs with speed.
> He gives snow like flocks of wool,
> He scatters hoar-frost like ashes,
> He throws down his ice-like crumbs.
> Who can stand before his cold?
> He sends forth his orders, and makes it all melt;
> He causes his wind to blow, then the waters flow.
> He has made known his word to Jacob,
> His laws and injunctions to Israel.
> Not thus has he dealt with any other people,
> No other knows his commandments.

HOW GOD GETS THE LAW FULFILLED: ROM. 8:1–4

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These verses at once summarize all the previous teaching of the epistle and advance the argument to its highest level. They are therefore indispensable to an understanding of this letter, and express, as well as any other passage of equal length, the very center of the Glad News, which is the power of God unto salvation (1:16).

The first five chapters have dealt with the God-given righteousness or right relation to law, which for the guilty sinner can mean only a free and undeserved pardon, granted on the sole condition of faith. The sixth and seventh chapters assure us that this is only the beginning of salvation, that God not only freely pardons the guilty sinner who exercises faith, but that through this pardon and a life-union with Christ, God emancipates the pardoned sinner from the power of sin and progressively makes him inwardly holy. So while chaps. 1–5 deal with Pardon through Faith, chaps. 6 and 7 begin the discussion of Sanctification through Union with Christ.

Still, although 6:1–11 and 7:6 tell us plainly that the crisis of pardon is also the beginning of a new life in Christ, chaps. 6 and 7 as a whole, profound as they are, are unsatisfactory. In the latter part of chap. 6 the stress is laid on the human will, which in chap. 7 is shown to be inefficient in raising men to higher things, and moreover in chap. 7 the struggle between the higher and lower in man is left so distressingly indecisive that we come to chap. 8 depressed, if not discouraged. Chap. 8 lifts us out of psychology into grace and life, and power and triumph. It reasserts, amplifies, explains, and gloriously vindicates all the noble truths of 6:1–11. It is the apostle's paean of victory, his masterpiece in praise of divine grace and love to guilty sinners. Without it, we could never have so well understood either his gospel or himself.

"There is therefore now no condemnation to them that are in Christ Jesus" (8:1). These words put together the two great thoughts of the letter up to this point. "There is no condemnation," means that

there is full and free pardon (chaps. 1–5); "to them that are in Christ Jesus" takes up the great thought of 6:1—7:6, that the pardoned sinner enters into vital union with Christ. "Now," after the long and weary struggle and defeat of the awakened sinner face to face with the law, battling in his own strength (7:14–25), "now" a Savior, even Christ Jesus (7:25*a*), has been found to deliver us from the body of this death, and the two steps in that deliverance are pardon on the basis of faith and life-union with the Savior. Only in the warmth of God's love and the sunlight of his favor can the pardoned sinner live and grow and conquer.

With 8:2 comes the advance in thought. Here we learn why and how defeat and condemnation are done away. Here at last appears the power of the Spirit, of whom we felt the lack in chap. 6, and whose absence was so conspicuous a source of the miserable failure and defeat of 7:14–25. "For," says the apostle, giving the reason why condemnation can no longer threaten the believer, "the law," the authoritative principle, "of the Spirit of life," the life-giving Spirit, "made me free," at the moment of regeneration, "from the law," the authoritative principle, "of sin," and so of "death." And all this "in Christ Jesus." In union with him, in the sphere of his influence, under the warming influence of his life, the freeing took place. Sin and death formerly lorded it over me, and so I was constantly under condemnation, but the life-giving Spirit was shed abroad in my heart, and with him came pardon and peace. Sin, condemnation, and death could not tarry, but disappeared as the darkness before the rising sun. God cannot condemn a man in whom his own Spirit is the dominating force and guarantee of final perfection. The new life-principle makes the new man, and the new man comes into new and delightful relations with God.

Vs. 3 starts some difficult questions. "For" shows that the verse is the reason for or explanation of something, and it is probably best to say that it explains how the life-giving Spirit frees man in union with Christ from the tyranny of sin and death. God, as ever (Rom. 3:25; 5:8; II Cor. 5:18), was at the bottom of the gracious plan and did what the law so lamentably failed to accomplish. And what was it that "the law could not do, in that it was weak through the flesh?" In 7:14–25 is the sufficient answer—it could not get itself fulfilled

even by the man who had been awakened by its imperative demands. It could not give life (Gal. 3:21), nor moral power, nor spiritual victory. It could only condemn, yea, and excite sin (7:8). This impotency of the law is no fault of its own. In itself it is holy, just, and good (7:12), but it "was weak through the flesh," through the sinful nature of man. And this very impotency of the law is just the proof of sin's exceeding sinfulness (7:13).

Now what the law could not do, God did, i. e., he "condemned sin in the flesh." What can this mean? It must mean something more than or different from "condemned," for God did "what the law could not do," and the law certainly could condemn, indeed that was its pre-eminent function. But the law's condemnation did not end the power of sin, and this is just what God's condemnation did. God condemned sin in such a way as to end its dominion in the believer's heart. The great tyrant is at last brought up for sentence, and that divine sentence, certain of execution, forever rendered him impotent to hurt or harm. So the word "condemned" here means "condemned and broke the power of sin." It is doubtless suggested by the word "condemnation" of 8:1. There is now no condemnation for the Christian.

God then condemned and broke the power of sin, "in the flesh," that is, in man's sinful nature, in that very sphere where sin had lorded it so long. And how did he do this? By "sending his own Son"—this measures the cost to God and the love of his heart—"in the likeness of sinful flesh and for sin." "In the likeness of sinful flesh" is a very peculiar phrase, but there was really no other open to Paul. He could not say "in the flesh," meaning human nature, for he had just above used the term flesh to mean "sinful flesh," and "sinful flesh" he will not say that Christ took. He could not say "in the likeness of flesh," for that would give us a phantom Christ, who was not really human. He would not say "in sinful flesh." So he must say "in the likeness of sinful flesh." His nature was *like* our sinful nature and yet *unlike* in the particular of sin. Note how carefully Paul guards the sinlessness of Jesus (cf. II Cor. 5:21). "And for sin;" the Greek words constitute the technical expression for "sin-offering," as every student of the Septuagint knows; cf. also Heb. 10:6, 8. So God condemned and destroyed sin in human

nature by sending his own Son in that human nature, yet without sin, and as a sacrificial sin-offering (cf. 3:25).

And all this had one great object, viz. (vs. 4), "that the ordinance," the righteous requirement, "of the law might be fulfilled in us, who walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit," who are not determined and ruled by the old sinful nature, but by the Spirit of God. This fulfilling of the righteous requirement of the law was what the law itself could not effect, but God has brought-about. Now that the rule of sin, which hindered the fulfilment of the law, is done away, men think, desire, purpose the things of the Spirit, and the law, in principle, is fulfilled in conduct. The end and object of the whole plan of salvation is men controlled by the Spirit and doing God's will, of which his law is a transcript.

How does this life-giving Spirit get the authoritative control of men? I cannot refrain from quoting Dr. Paterson of Aberdeen.[1]

> The sacrificial death of Christ was an event which broke the power of sin as the dominant principle of humanity. It does not exhaust Paul's teaching as to the mode of its efficacy, to say that on the ground of the sacrifice God accepts and sanctifies the sinner. He also teaches that in the death of Christ there took place a *death of mankind* to sin. "If one died for all, then all died" (II Cor. 5:14; Rom. 8:3). Humanity was then in a manner comprehended in him, and although the realization was to be partial and gradual, contemporaneously with his death it died in principle to the old order in which the flesh held the nobler elements in thrall. Christ routed sin in the sphere of human nature, and a new humanity was thus potentially created.

And I would add that the very same conception is found in Heb. 2:14, 15: "Since then the children are sharers in flesh and blood, he also himself in like manner"—on equal terms—"partook of the same; that through death he might bring to naught him that had the power of death, that is, the devil; and might deliver all them who through fear of death were all their lifetime subject to bondage." And also, that the connecting link between this potential victory on the cross and in the resurrection, and the believer's own victory is the believer's subjective appropriation of the spiritual experience of Christ, so far forth as that is possible, and it is possible in essence.

These verses have no meaning for those who are "alive apart from the law" (7:9) as Paul was "once," for those who have not been

[1] Hastings, *Bible Dictionary*, Vol. IV, p. 345 *a*.

awakened to the moral struggle. But for those who find themselves in the losing fight of the higher against the lower nature (7:14–25), who are torn by the opposite forces of conscience and passion, who, spurred on by the stern and righteous demands of God's law, battle in their own strength and find it to be miserable weakness, for these men and for all whom Christ has delivered from that "body of death," these words are the sweetest music. They sing of essential victory, and the rational means and hope of complete triumph.

Jesus Christ, God's own Son, our own brother, fought out the fight with sin and death under essentially the same conditions in which we find ourselves. These dreadful foes cannot boast an uninterrupted course of victory, but have been defeated in a life-and-death struggle by Jesus Christ, and by millions who have overcome through him. This gives us hope, and tempts us also to believe that our losing fight may be turned into a victory by the power of the living Christ. The first step is a profound hatred of sin, and a sense of our own guilt and weakness. This can be obtained nowhere so well as at the cross. When we see that sin crucified the righteous and loving Jesus, and struck at the life of incarnate holiness; when we see it clouding the spiritual sunshine of his filial heart, and that heart breaking under its weight; when, looking into that heart, we see what it has cost God in suffering and love to save us, then we die with Christ. Sin is seen in its inherent wickedness and is for us forever condemned. The love of it and its power over us are irretrievably broken; henceforth we feel toward it as Christ, as God feels toward it. And having shared Christ's death, we share his life; the Spirit is shed abroad in our hearts, and abides there as the ruling principle of our lives, as grace and power divine. And rising from this change from midnight to day, filled with everlasting gratitude and love, we know that God has pardoned fully and freely and all of grace, that the old life is gone and a new life has come, and that so long as we live under the shadow of the cross, and in the power of the resurrection, and under the leadership of the Spirit, we are in the way of victory and eternal life. This is the gospel, the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth, the way to fulfil the law, which is the will of God, in love and joy.

EXPOSITORY STUDIES IN THE OLD TESTAMENT
VIII. THE LAST DAYS OF MOSES

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THE SPIES: NUM. 13:17–20, 23–33[1]

I. CRITICAL

The incident of the Spies (chaps. 13 and 14) is the fourth incident to be recounted after the departure from Sinai. The three preceding incidents (chaps. 11 and 12) are contributed by J and E. Chaps. 13 and 14 are highly composite but for our purpose it will be necessary to distinguish only the P material from the JE material.

1. The following verses are assigned to P: vss. 1–17*a*, 21, 25, 26 in part, 32*a*. According to this account, God commands Moses to send out the spies. Twelve are selected, among them Caleb and Joshua. They start from the Wilderness of Paran, go as far north as the "Entrance into Hamath," i. e., they traverse the whole of Palestine, forty days being consumed in the reconnoissance, and return to Paran, bringing back a very unfavorable report of the land.

2. To JE are assigned vss. 17*b*–20, 22–24, 26 in part, 27–31, 32*b*–33. The original introduction to the JE narrative is lost but may be recovered from Deut. 1:19–23 (Deut. 1:19–46 being a recapitulation of the narrative of the spies based on JE). According to this form of the narrative *the people request* Moses to send the spies (contrast the emphasis upon the divine initiation in P, Num. 13:1–3). Twelve are selected, among them Caleb (not Joshua, *vide infra*). They start from Kadesh (Deut. 1:19; Num. 32:6 ff.), explore only the south of Palestine (the Negeb and the region around Hebron [Eshcol]) and return to Kadesh, bringing back a very favorable report of the land (vs. 27; cf. Deut. 1:25) but a very unfavorable report of its inhabitants. According to JE Caleb alone among the spies urges the people not to fear, and to him alone the promise is given (Num. 13:30; 14:24), whereas in P Joshua is joined to Caleb (14:6, 30, 38). In Deut. 1:38 Joshua is not joined to Caleb as a rewarded spy, but is distinguished from him as the successor of Moses who has a special work to do in dividing the land to the various tribes.

When once the analysis has been effected the original significance of the

[1] International Sunday-School Lesson for September 1, 1907.

narrative, in part at least, is clear. It will account for the prominent part which the Calebites took in the conquest of Judah (cf. the original meaning of the Hobab incident in the preceding lesson). The Calebites were no more Israelites than the Kenites were (cf. Num. 32:12; Josh. 14:6–15; 15:13–19; Judg. 1:11—3:9). P has lost sight of this and makes Caleb belong to the tribe of Judah (Num. 13:6; 34:9; cf. 1 Chron. 2:3–18). This view of P is probably a reflection of the amalgamation of the Calebites with the Jews in the Postexilic period. Through the judaizing of Caleb the original significance of the story was lost and it then became easy enough on the basis of Deut. 1:36–38 to associate Joshua with Caleb as one of the spies.

II. EXPOSITORY

1. *Geographical terms.*—"The South," (vs. 17) better "the Negeb" (dry or parched land), the technical name for the long terrace that slopes to the desert from a point about half-way between Hebron and Beersheba. "The hill-country" (vs. 1); possibly the Jewish highlands north of the Negeb, possibly E's name for the Negeb itself. The valley of Eshcol has not been certainly identified but probably was located near Hebron. This region was famous for its grapes which began to ripen in late July and August. The Wilderness of Sin is not part of the Wilderness of Paran, but lies north of it (cf. Num. 20:1, where they come from Paran into Sin.) Rehob (vs. 21) is located near Dan and the entrance to Hamath is possibly the gorge between Lebanon and Hermon through which the road to northern Syria ran. The Amalekites, a desert tribe in the Negeb, and the Jebusites, a tribe located about Jerusalem, give no trouble, but the exact force of Hittite, Amorite, and Canaanite in vs. 29 has been much disputed. Hittite has been interpreted as a settlement of the great non-Semitic race of northern Syria which is supposed to have wedged its way south, or as a Semitic tribe in south Palestine unconnected with the northern Hittites, or the name has been held to be given loosely by later writers, especially P, to the original inhabitants of Palestine generally (cf. the similar general application of the name by the Assyrians to the inhabitants of Syria and Palestine). The Amorites are mentioned on the Egyptian monuments as early as the fifteenth century B. C. as a people dwelling in northern Palestine. Here they appear to be dwelling on the highlands of Palestine. In E and Deuteronomy the name is generally used of the original inhabitants of Palestine. Canaanite is J's term for the original inhabitants, though here the Canaanites seem to be localized on the lowlands of the sea-coast and Jordan valley. In 14:25, 45 are found still different conceptions.

2. "Children of Anak" or, more literally, "the Anak." The name

was originally a common noun as the article shows which regularly accompanies the singular, except at vs. 33 and Num. 9:2, and may have meant long-necks and so tall men or giants. In the earlier tradition followed also by the later sources they were thought of as settled especially about Hebron and the hill country to the north (cf. Josh. 11:21, 22; 14:15; 15:13; 21:11). Ahiman, Sheshai, and Talmaj (cf. Josh. 15:14; Judg. 1:20) were probably originally clan names, though in the present tradition they appear as individuals. By the time of Deuteronomy they had become a typical race of giants (Deut. 1:28; 2:10, 11, 21). They are even described as Rephaim, the technical name for giant (Deut. 2:11), and in the gloss in Num. 13:33 ("the sons of Anak who came of the Nephilim," a phrase omitted in the Septuagint) they are described as descended from the Nephilim or the demigods of popular mythology (cf. Gen. 6:4, the only other place where the name Nephilim occurs).

III. LESSONS

The present lesson like the Hobab incident was originally a story to explain tribal relationships, but as told from father to son, undoubtedly the interest would have centered for the Hebrew child as for us, not in the history behind the story but in the hero, *Caleb*.

Caleb stands as a shining example of the intelligent optimist, of the man with a cheerful and trustful outlook upon life. He saw the dangers in the way. He was especially commanded to note the exact conditions of affairs (vss. 17–20). He did not argue from the giant clusters of grapes that Palestine was a fairy land. There were giant enemies in it as well as giant clusters. Attainment meant effort. But, though knowing thoroughly the facts, he said without a moment's hesitation: "We are well able to overcome." True optimism does not mean illusion. It does not hide its eyes to the facts of life, to the actual pain and distress of existence. The foolish people who see only the clusters of grapes and deny the presence of the Anakim, live in a dream world and are no more able to conquer Canaan than were the coward spies who saw the good, and even tantalized themselves and the people with a sample of it, but allowed fear to rob them of the joy of full possession. The true optimist is he who joyfully believes in the God of things as they are, who sees both the fruits of the land and the fortified cities, who is neither deluded by the one nor daunted by the other, but who dares. The conquerors of the promised lands in the world's history have always been like Caleb men of knowledge, yet of undaunted faith, of experience yet of undimmed vision. This attitude toward the world is the truly Christ-attitude. It recognizes the sin and suffering of the world but believes in the kingdom of God. The forces which oppose

the onward march of truth and righteousness and love do not paralyze but challenge effort and the Christian re-echoes Caleb's ancient war-cry: "We are well able to overcome," when exultantly he exclaims: "This is the victory that hath overcome the world, even our faith."

The Brazen Serpent: Numbers 21:1–9[2]

I. CRITICAL

1. The last division of the book of Numbers begins with 20:14. It narrates the journey from Kadesh to the steppes of Moab and the conquest of East-Jordan land. With the arrival in Kadesh (20:1) the period of the forty years' penal wanderings is practically over. The chapters which cover this period (chaps. 15–19) contain but one historical incident, the rebellion of Korah, Dathan and Abiram, and its immediate consequences. In other words the forty years, though a fixed element in the ancient tradition (cf. Amos 2:10), is practically a "vacuum." There is even great obscurity in the sources as to where these wanderings were passed.

2. Num. 21:4–9 is homogeneous and is to be ascribed to E with the exception of the reference to Mt. Hor in vs. 4*a* (=P). It attaches directly to the E section, 20:14–21. In the latter section the Israelites send from Kadesh on the (western) border of Edom to ask permission to pass through the country. This is denied them. They therefore turn southward toward the Red Sea with the intention of circuiting Edom and entering Canaan from the east (21:4), and at this time the incident of the lesson apparently occurs. The intervening sections (20:22–29=P, and 21:1–3 =J) fall quite outside the historical framework of E.

II. EXPOSITORY

1. In the exposition of this lesson just one question needs to be asked and answered: Why did Moses choose this particular method to cure the people? The narrative certainly does not mean to teach that there was anything in the form or material of the image which gave to it its healing power. Rather, it was the obedience to God's will, implied in the look, that resulted in the cure. But the appeal to the will could just as well have been made in some other less bizarre way. It has been suggested that the serpent lifted up and stiffened into brass is a symbol of the danger which had been rendered harmless. But the exaltation of the serpent upon a pole was plainly for the purpose that all might easily see it, and a brazen serpent in itself hardly suggests harmlessness. Nor can this symbol have been chosen in order to keep their punishment always before their eyes and

[2] International Sunday-School Lesson for September 8, 1907.

so lead them to repentance. The serpent was a symbol of salvation, not of punishment, and was so thought of in after times (*vide infra*). If these were the reasons for the choice of the symbol, it is indeed surprising that they are not more clearly indicated, especially in view of the fact that the symbol was almost a bid to idolatry and transgression of the second commandment. Again it has been supposed that Moses chose this symbol because of the antique belief in the healing virtues of snakes, which was undoubtedly widespread in antiquity. For example the snake was sacred to Aesculapius; the Arabs believed that healing springs were inhabited by *jinn* in the form of serpents; the snake-divinity of the old Babylonian city, Der, was called the "lord of life." It has been finally suggested that the choice of the brazen serpent as a symbol is to be connected with the widely extended custom of getting rid of pests by making images of them which were afterward made away with, the pest being thus supposed to be vicariously banished. But on these last two suppositions the healing virtue would be inherent in the brazen serpent, while there is absolutely no evidence that the writer of the narrative had any such superstitious idea of the meaning of the symbol. In other words the choice of this peculiar symbol has no adequate explanation in the narrative itself. We must look elsewhere for the explanation.

2. The connection of this incident with II Kings 18:4. Here we have a brazen serpent attributed to Moses which had become an object of worship and was accordingly destroyed by Hezekiah. The relationship between II Kings 18:4 and Num. 21:4–9 may be construed in either of two ways: (1) Num., chap. 21, gives an actual historical fact which is attested by II Kings, chap. 18. But this leaves us with our difficulty unsolved. Why did Moses choose a brazen serpent as his symbol, for we now see how almost inevitably it would be construed idolatrously? (2) Num. 21:4–9 is a later story written in order to account for the existence of Nehushtan, i. e., is an aetiological legend. We now see at once the explanation of the brazen serpent. It is a reflection of Nehushtan. Popular belief attributed this idol to Moses. It was too ancient for the prophetic writer of Num., chap. 21 to deny its Mosaic origin. But he sought to obliterate all idolatrous associations with it and thus render it innocuous from the point of view of prophetic religion. If Num., chap. 21 is thus construed as a legend, another peculiar feature of the story is at once accounted for. The word translated *fiery serpent* in vs. 8 (and *fiery* in vs. 6) only occurs again in Isa. 14:29; 30:6 (fiery flying serpent); Deut. 8:15 (fiery serpent), and Isa. 6:2, 6, where it is translated *Seraphim*. In Isa. 30:6 (cf. 14:29) the Seraphim are terrible, half-fabulous creatures

inhabiting the desert, and so also in Deut. 8:15 which is a rhetorical allusion to Num., chap. 21.[3] They thus correspond to the fiery dragons of our own fables; only they were also associated symbolically with the deity, as in Isa., chap. 6, and on the Egyptian monuments where we find the *Seref* pictured as a guardian of tombs.

III. LESSONS

The main lesson is to be derived from the connection of Num., chap. 21 with II Kings, chap. 18. (1) If the incident recorded in Num., chap. 21, really preceded the worship of Nehushtan, the danger would be pointed out of faith hardening into superstition, a danger that has always crouched at the door of Christian thought and practice. (2) But if, as indicated above, Num., chap. 21, is really a prophetic interpretation of Nehushtan, we have here an encouraging illustration of the opposite tendency, the power of a spiritual religion to slough off superstitious accretions. The more clearly the true significance of the modern study of the Old Testament is grasped the more it will be realized that it is one vast and varied illustration of this lesson—the lesson of the water-lily that emerges pure and white out of the slime beneath. Is this evolution? Yes. Is it a materialistic denial of the directing and inspiring power of God? Emphatically, no. It is the assumption of that power.

In the present instance prophetic religion has so refined the old idol Nehushtan, so turned the attention from this thing of brass "to the Savior of all" (*Wisdom*, 16:6), so fixed the thought upon the movement of the human will toward God, which is of the very essence of spiritual faith, that in after times the brazen serpent lifted on its pole, the symbol of salvation, is not unfittingly appropriated as a type of Jesus (John 3:14).

Moses Pleads With Israel: Deut. 6:1–15[4]

I. CRITICAL

1. The Book of Deuteronomy is the corner-stone of the critical reconstruction of the Old Testament. The date of its discovery in the reign of Josiah (637–607 B. C.; cf. II Kings, chaps. 22, 23) is held to be approximately the date of its composition. Its purpose was to apply the principles and ideals of the prophets to the life of the nation in a practical way. The prophets enunciated great principles, but do not seem to have devised means to put them into effect. They furnished the motive power of ideals

[3] There is an interesting parallel in Esarhaddon's account of his march through the terrors of the Arabian desert where two-headed serpents were met with.

[4] International Sunday-School Lesson for September 15, 1907.

rather than the machinery of organization. There was need of a thorough and systematic revision of the traditional religious practices of the people by which the teachings of the prophets could be brought into contact with the actual religious life of the people at the most vital points. Deuteronomy is an attempt at such revision. It is the reformatory programme of the prophetic party. It therefore forms the appropriate close to the work of the great eighth-century prophets, Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, and Micah. In Deuteronomy their preaching becomes law.

2. The book is homogeneous in purpose, thought, and style because, like P, it is the work of one school rather than because it is the work of one writer. Chaps. 5–26, 28 probably form the more original part of the book. The introductory portion (chaps. 1–4) and at least parts of the concluding portion (chaps. 29–34) may be by different hands. The core of the book is in form a speech of Moses. In a long and remarkable preamble (chaps. 5–11) he lays down the fundamental principles of the religion of Jehovah as taught by the prophets, after which the detailed questions of legislation are taken up (chaps. 12–26, 28). The true significance of Deuteronomy comes out most clearly in the preamble, and of this preamble our lesson is the quintessence. It forms, therefore, the very heart of the book. Since the book itself marks the consummation of the prophetic movement of the eighth century, our lesson may be said to be the high-water mark of that movement, only to be surpassed, if it is surpassed, by the flood-tide of religious enthusiasm in II Isaiah.

II. EXPOSITORY

Of the introductory verses (vss. 1–3) nothing need be said, but in vss. 4–9 we have enunciated the fundamental idea of God (vs. 4), the fundamental attitude toward God (vs. 5), the duty of being ever mindful of the great Deuteronomic ideals (vss. 6–9), while in vss. 10–15 Israel is warned against the special temptations to forget them.

1) The exact translation and force of vs. 4 are much disputed (cf. the various translations in the R. V.). The translation in the text of the R. V. does not seem to indicate the uniqueness of Jehovah so much as the unity of Jehovah. In that case the declaration would be antithetic to the polytheistic resolution of Jehovah into various forms after the analogy of the Baalim, or to the polytheistic fusion of other gods with Jehovah. But such an antithesis is not suggested by the context which does not combat a polytheistic conception of Jehovah himself, but a tendency to worship other gods as well as Jehovah. The context suggests the translation: Jehovah is our God, Jehovah *alone;* though this meaning for the Hebrew

word for *one* is admittedly doubtful, and so translated the verse would not be an unequivocal expression of monotheism. This would be distinctly expressed only by some such phrase as, "Jehovah our God is *God* alone," or, "Jehovah is our God; there is none else." But while the expression in itself is monolatristic rather than monotheistic, it can hardly be denied that it projects out of a background of monotheistic belief (cf. 4:35, 39; 32:39), and the monotheistic interpretation which has always been given to the verse will not be inconsistent with the faith of the original writer. The particular mode of expressing the thought in vs. 4 is due to a desire to lay a peculiar emphasis upon *Israel's* relationship to Jehovah.

2) The command to love Jehovah (vs. 5) is distinctly expressed only in Deuteronomy in the Pentateuch, and the phrase, "with all thy heart and with all thy soul," expressing the true inwardness of religion, is characteristic of the Deuteronomic school. Religion cannot be more spiritually conceived than is here done, especially when vs. 5 is supplemented by the command to fear, i. e., to reverence Jehovah (vs. 13), for there can be no true love without reverence for the being loved.

3) The Jews, at least as early as the time of Christ, were accustomed to interpret vss. 8 and 9 literally. On vs. 8 they based the custom of wearing the *tephillin* (the phylacteries of the New Testament, small leather cases worn on the arm and forehead and containing scrolls of parchment inscribed with the passages Exod. 13:1–10, 11–16; Deut. 6:4–9, and 11:13–21). On the basis of vs. 9 the custom grew up of attaching a metal case to the right-hand doorpost of every house, also containing small scrolls with the same passages of Scripture. But in Exod. 13:9, 16, and in Deut. 11:18–21, the figurative interpretation is the only natural interpretation. It is therefore probable that in the present passage vs. 8, and, inferentially, vs. 9 are also to be taken figuratively. The metaphor in vs. 8 is probably taken from the custom of tattooing, of which there seem to be other traces in the Bible. The metaphor in vs. 9 is taken from the custom of inscribing lucky sentences over doorways. The custom was practiced by the ancient Egyptians, and is followed by the Mohammedans today, who inscribe their doorways with sentences from the Koran.

III. LESSONS

1. The doctrine of monotheism has become so axiomatic with us that we are in danger of forgetting its significance. (1) A World-God cannot be the god of a clan, a state, or a church. Therefore relationship to him does not necessarily depend upon connection with a clan, a state, or a church. It becomes an affair between God and the individual soul. In other words,

on the basis of monotheism religion becomes individualized. But this is the most important step in the spiritualizing of religion. No religion can become truly spiritual or remain truly spiritual where the responsibility is removed from the individual to the clan or the state or even to the church. (2) Again, and for the same reason, monotheism is a most powerful agent in the democratization of society. When the religious emphasis shifts from the state or clan to the individual, the sociological emphasis will also shift. This is proved by the intimate connection which has always existed between civil and religious liberty. If a man gets the idea that he has an immediate relationship to a world-deity, the consciousness of such a dignity is bound to express itself sooner or later in terms of social and political independence. (3) Further, monotheism works toward the unification of society. In ancient days, for example, the horrors of war were aggravated by the fact that contending nations worshiped different gods. Religious antagonisms are always the most bitter and invariably widen already existing lines of cleavage. But when the nations realize that there is a common God and Father of us all, that thus the most sacred possession of men is held in common, such a conviction must work toward the unification of the world. It is an interesting speculation what the effect would be if the members of the Hague tribunal could repeat twice daily during their sessions, as the Jews of old did, Deut. 6:4, 5. (4) Finally, monotheism works in the interest of science and through this to the dominion of man over nature and the advancement of material civilization. There can be no science in a world of many gods. In such a world physical phenomena, as the expression of the moods of various divinities, must remain uncoordinated and science remain at a standstill. The old Greek scientists who groped after the idea of a cosmos in an age of polytheism, were often sceptics. But when the world is looked upon as the expression of one supreme intelligence and will, science receives an inspiration that will carry it on to ever new discoveries. And furthermore a science in search of the mind of God will never rest content with advancing a civilization that is consummated in ministering to the comforts of the body alone.

2. The only acceptable worship of a World-God is the inward worship of reverential love (vss. 5, 13). The blood of bulls and of goats may appeal to a clan-god or a state-god, an elaborate ritual may appeal to a church-god, but the only conceivable worship that could appeal to a World-God is the devotion of the heart. God is now too great to be worshiped in any other than the simplest way.[5]

[5]The only justification of ritual is from the point of view of human weakness, not of divine requirement.

3. The ancient Jews, on the basis of vss. 7–9, turned the lessons of vss. 4 and 5 into phylacteries, i. e., magical safeguards or charms, as the Greek word means. The question for us to answer is whether these lessons will become for us merely formal truths encased in leathern consciences, or truths which ever dominate our thought and action. For we are exposed to a great danger:

4. The easy, often unearned prosperity which we enjoy is as liable to banish the thought of God and his goodness from our minds as was the unearned increment in ancient Israel (vss. 10–15). The constant prayer of the prosperous should be that the goodness of God should lead them to repentence (Rom. 2:4).

The Death of Moses: Deut. 34:1–12[6]

I. CRITICAL

Chaps. 31–34 of Deuteronomy contain the closing speeches and scenes in the life of Moses; in these chapters JE and P again appear and are interwoven with D. The compilatory character of the Pentateuch is especially obvious in the account of the installation of Joshua as Moses' successor, which must have been immediately connected with the death of Moses in the original forms of the respective documents. P's account is already found at Num. 27:12–23. It was placed thus early to explain the position occupied by Joshua in Num. 32:28 and 34:17 ff. Num. 27:12–23 would naturally be followed by something like Deut. 34. But as the final redactor of the Pentateuch had all the Deuteronomic law which he wished to insert after Num., chap. 27, he found it necessary to repeat Num. 27:12–24, in a slightly modified form at Deut. 32:48–52, in order to form the introduction to the delayed account of Moses' death in Deut. 34. Meanwhile in Deut. 31:1–8 we have the Deuteronomic parallel narrative of the installation of Joshua and in 31:14, 15, 23, still another narrative of the same event, which must belong to JE. A clearer case of duplicate narratives could hardly be desired. But in the actual account of Moses' death (chap. 34) the analysis is by no means obvious, though on *a priori* grounds we would expect to find the three main sources again combined in so important a narrative. Vss. 1*a*, 7–9, are usually ascribed to P, but the separation of the JE and D strands is very uncertain.

II. EXPOSITORY

The mount of the Abarim, referred to at Num. 27:12 = Deut. 32:48 (cf. Num. 33:47), is the general name for the series of ridges which break from

[6] International Sunday-School Lesson for September 22, 1907.

the table-land of Moab into the valley of the Dead Sea. The highest eminence of one of these ridges, opposite the northern end of the Dead Sea, still bears the name *Neba*. The place where Moses stood was probably not this eminence but the extreme western spur of the Nebo ridge, now called *Ras Siaghah*, that towers some 3,600 feet over the Dead Sea valley and commands a splendid panorama of Palestine. The name Pisgah does not seem to have been preserved. It is the name used by JE and D (Num. 21:20; 23:14; Deut. 3:17, 27) instead of the Nebo of P. "Gilead unto Dan" (vs. 1) stands here for the whole of East-Jordan land. "The hinder sea" (vs. 2) is the western or Mediterranean Sea, so called because the Hebrews were accustomed to describe the points of the compass from the east which they fronted, the west being consequently behind them. "The Plain" (vs. 3) is the technical name for "the basin into which the Jordan valley expands, just before the Jordan enters the Dead Sea." The Mediterranean Sea and Dan cannot in reality be seen from Nebo, but they may be supposed to have been ideally present in Moses' view. It is curious that the Samaritan Pentateuch substitutes a different description for that contained in vss. 2, 3. The reason why Moses was forbidden to enter the promised land (vs. 4*b*) presented a difficult problem to the Old Testament theologians. In Num. 20:2–13; 27:14; Deut. 32:51 (all P), the prohibition was ascribed to Moses' sin. But it is impossible to tell from the present form of the narrative in Num. 20:2–13 in just what the sin consisted. On the other hand in Deut. 1:37; 3:26; and 4:21 Moses seems to be punished on account of the people. He is included in their guilt. The theological difficulty which later writers felt in accounting for the failure of Moses to enter Canaan is a strong proof that we are here dealing with an actual fact in the life of a historical person.

"The word of Jehovah" (vs. 5) is literally "the mouth of Jehovah." On the basis of this phrase, though frequently found elsewhere in the sense of a command, the Rabbins developed the beautiful legend that Moses died by the kiss of God. According to the natural translation of the verb in vs. 6*a*, Jehovah buried Moses (cf. R. V.). The miraculous character of the event is also emphasized by vs. 7. It was due to no failure of his physical powers that Moses died. It was an abnormal death. In vs. 10 the uniqueness of Moses is found in the peculiar relationship which he sustained to God (cf. Exod. 33:11; Num. 12:6–8). The grammatical connection of vss. 11, 12, with vs. 10 is very poor. These verses are probably a supplementary appreciation of Moses, bringing out the wonder-working side of his character. For us today his importance is seen rather in the fact that he is the real founder of the Hebrew religion, the precursor of

Christianity, and that he has stood out pre-eminently in the history of the world as the embodiment of the idea of Law (cf. *The Assumption of Moses*, chap. 1).

III. LESSONS

The picture of the death of Moses as drawn in chap. 34 belongs among the world's masterpieces—the unflinching ascent of Nebo's heights, the lonely figure on the mountain top, the silent gaze upon the promised land in which were fused both failure and fruition, triumph and disappointment, the fatal contact with the infinite, the unknown grave—a picture in which majesty, mystery, and pathos are marvelously blended. But what lessons has it for us? Every masterpiece is the expression of some universal truth and the manner of Moses' death becomes the type of the fundamental isolation of every human soul, an isolation that may not be recognized for a time by those who are unwilling to face ultimate realities, but which is nevertheless a fact that in the hour of death can no longer be ignored. Moses was no more alone when the infinite swept in upon his finiteness out of the gathering night than each one of us will be,

When the last farewell is over.

This is a solemnizing thought in its implications of personal accountability, but it should not be a terrorizing thought. It should dignify, not cow the soul; for the touch of the infinite that seems so fatal to all fellowship and makes us realize our isolation most acutely, is, after all, only the caress of God, if we would but believe it, that welcomes into true union and communion. Again this scene teaches another serious lesson—the unfinished character of every human life. No life is a rounded whole. Moses' life was not. The complete conquest of the promised land is not vouchsafed to any single individual. Herein lies the supreme test of obedience and faith. Can we look without bitterness upon a promised land that we are unable to enter ourselves? Can we hold fast to an ideal, though knowing that the joy of complete realization will never be ours? Can we hand on our unfinished task to another to perfect, without a jealous pang?

At this point the fact of isolation must be qualified by the possibility of co-operation. Each *soul* is in a sense isolated, but each *life* is a link in a closely riveted chain, whose meaning and value are lost apart from its connection with the other links. We are not to be disheartened by the fact that our lives considered by themselves are unfinished, but we must learn humbly to merge ourselves into the expanding plan of God. When this is once done and our lives are given their proper setting in the glorious sequences of the kingdom of God, the galling sense of imperfection will be lost in gratitude that we are allowed to share in the growing triumph.

Books for Old Testament Study

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In the following lists no effort is made to be exhaustive. The purpose is rather to include only such books as are of real importance and value. Articles in the encyclopaedias and magazines are for the most part excluded for lack of space, though the best work in some departments is on record in this form. Books of homiletical and devotional character are not included here. It is inevitable that some deserving works have escaped notice, but it is hoped nothing of first-class significance has been overlooked.

American publishers of foreign books are cited preferably, and (where they exist), English translations are listed instead of their originals. Where a later edition of the original marks a distinct advance it is added after the translation.

Most of the titles for Sections I, 1, 3, 4; II, 1, 4, 5; III, 1–9; and IV, 1, 2*b*, *d*, *f*, 3, were supplied by Professor Ira M. Price, to whom I gratefully acknowledge my obligation. The responsibility, however, for their final inclusion and for the annotations, which absence in Europe prevented him from contributing, rests upon me.

I. HISTORY

1. GEOGRAPHY OF WESTERN ASIA AND PALESTINE

Smith, George Adam. The Historical Geography of the Holy Land. New York: Armstrong, 1894. Pp. 720. $4.50.

Stewart, R. L. The Land of Israel: A Textbook on the Physical and Historical Geography of the Holy Land. Chicago: Revell, 1899. Pp. 352. $1.50.

Socin, A., and Benzinger, I. Palestine and Syria. Baedeker's Guide-Book Series. Third edition. New York: Scribner, 1898. Pp. 472. $3.60. 4th ed., 1906; Benzinger only.

Kelman, J., and Fulleylove, J. The Holy Land, illustrated in colors. New York: Macmillan, 1902. Pp. 301. $6.

MacCoun, Townsend. The Holy Land in Geography and in History. Two volumes, containing 145 plates. Chicago: Revell Co., 1897. Pp. 232. $2.

Robinson, Edward. Biblical Researches in Palestine. Second Edition. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1857–60. Three volumes. Pp. 1874. $10.

Robinson, Edward. Physical Geography of the Holy Land. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1865. Pp. 399. $3.50.

Buhl, Frants. Geographie des alten Palästina. Tübingen: Mohr, 1896. Pp. 300. M. 6.60.

Hommel, F. Grundriss der Geographie und Geschichte des alten Orients. 2. neubearb. Auflage des "Abrisses der Geschichte des alten Orients." 1. Hälfte-Ethnologie des alten Orients, Babylonien und Chaldäa. [Handbuch d. Klass. Altertumswissensch., herausg. von J. v. Müller. 3. Bd., 1 Abt., 1. Hälfte] München: Beck, 1904. Pp. vi+400. M. 7.50.

Belck, W. Beiträge zur alten Geographie und Geschichte Vorderasiens. Leipzig: Pfeiffer, 1901. Pp. 112. M. 6.

Streck, M. Die alte Landschaft Babyloniens nach den arabischen Geographen. Teil I. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1900. Pp. xvi+333. M. 5.

MAPS

Palestine Exploration Fund. The Great Map of Western Palestine, in 26 sheets, with a portfolio. London, 1880. To be purchased in the United States of T. F. Wright, Cambridge, Mass. Subscribers, $13.50; non-subscribers, $18. Reduced map, in 6 sheets: subscribers, $3.50; non-subscribers, $5. Mounted for hanging, $1 extra.

Palestine Exploration Fund. Old and New Testament Map of Palestine, in 12 sheets. Scale $\frac{3}{4}$ of an inch = 1 mile. Mounted for hanging, $6\frac{3}{4} \times 4\frac{1}{2}$ feet. Price to subscribers, $6.50; non-subscribers, $9.50.

Bartholomew, J. G. New Map of Palestinian Topography, Physical and Biblical. Edited by George Adam Smith. Compiled from the latest surveys and researches, including the work of the English and German societies, showing all identified biblical sites, together with the modern place-names. Scale = 4 miles to the inch. Mounted on cloth, in cloth cover, with Index. London, 1904; American publisher, N. G. Armstrong. With Index, $3.50.

Osborn, H. S. Parts of Western Asia, with Palestine, Syria and the Great Desert. Oxford Map Publishers, Oxford, O. Size 56 (length) × 72 inches. Scale, 1 inch = 20 miles. $5.

The Holy Land (to illustrate the Old Testament), and **The Holy Land** (to illustrate the New Testament). London: W. and A. K. Johnston. Two Maps on one sheet. Size, each, 42 × 24 inches. Scale, 6 miles = 1 inch. Price, in veneer case, with spring roller, $3.50.

Burton, E. D. Relief Map of Palestine, conformed to the surveys of the Palestine Exploration Fund. 41 × 38 inches. Chicago: Atlas School Supply Co., 1898. $20.

Kiepert, H. Wandkarte zur Erläuterung der biblischen Erdkunde Alten und Neuen Testamentes. Berlin: Reimer.

Kiepert, H. Politische Schul-Wandkarte von Asien (4th. ed.). Berlin: Reimer.

UEBERSICHTSKARTE DER ALTEN KULTURLÄNDER VORDERASIENS auf Grund der Kiepert'schen Karte der Turkei. Berlin: Deutsche Orients-Gesellschaft, 1905.

SMITH furnishes the best account in English of the geography of Palestine and its influence upon Israel's history. BUHL occupies the same place among German works, but is inferior to Smith in charm, and does not concern himself with historical relations to any great extent. SOCIN AND BENZINGER'S handbook is the best traveler's guide and contains also much information of value to the student. STEWART presents a concise and popular, though reliable, treatment of the subject. KELMAN AND FULLEYLOVE, with a large pictorial element, makes attractive reading. ROBINSON'S works demand attention as those of the first of the modern school of scientific explorers. MACCOUN'S first volume is devoted to the geography and contains about 45 good maps; it may be purchased separately; price $1.00. HOMMEL is indispensable to the thorough student of matters concerning Western Asia; the work covers a wide range of territory and displays great learning, but is to be used with discrimination. BELCK and STRECK make valuable contributions to various phases of our geographical knowledge of the Orient.

The maps of the Palestine Exploration Fund are the standard maps of Palestine; the great map is unexcelled in accuracy and in fulness of information. BARTHOLOMEW'S map is up to date and admirably adapted to private and class use. OSBORN'S chief value is in the fact that it presents Palestine in relation to the surrounding territory. JOHNSTON'S Old Testament map is adapted to use in small classrooms, but not sufficiently detailed or accurate for careful private use. BURTON furnishes the most useful relief map of Palestine, the price ($55.00) of the great relief map of the Palestine Exploration Fund placing it beyond the reach of most students. KIEPERT'S maps are excellent for classroom use.

2. HISTORY OF ISRAEL

Ewald, Heinrich. The History of Israel. Translated from the third (1864–68) German Edition. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1869–86. Eight volumes. Pp. 3,564. $39.50.

Wellhausen, J. Prolegomena to the History of Israel. Edinburgh: Adam & Charles Black, 1885. Pp. 552. [Out of print.] [Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels. First Edition, 1878; Sixth Edition, Berlin: G. Reimer, 1905. Pp. 431. M. 8.]

Wellhausen, J. Sketch of the History of Israel and Judah. Third Edition. Edinburgh: Adam & Chas. Black, 1891. Pp. 229. $2.00; [Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte. Fifth Edition. Berlin: G. Reimer, 1904. Pp. 395. M. 11.80.]

Kittel, R. History of the Hebrews. London: Williams and Norgate, 1895–96. Two volumes. Pp. 745. $8.40.

Renan, Ernest. History of the People of Israel. Five volumes. Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1888–95. Pp. 1,987. $2.50 per volume.

Smith, Henry Preserved. Old Testament History. [International Theological Library.] New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1903. Pp. 512. $2.50.

Ottley, R. L. A Short History of the Hebrews to the Roman Period. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1901. Pp. 324. $1.25.

Cornill, C. H. History of the People of Israel. Chicago: Open Court Publishing Co., 1898. Pp. 301. $1.50.

Kent, C. F. History of the Hebrew People and A History of the Jewish People. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1896–99. Three volumes. Pp. 818. $3.75.

Wade, G. Woosung. Old Testament History. Second edition. New York: Dutton & Co., 1903. Pp. 532. $1.50.

Sayce, A. H. The Early History of the Hebrews. New York: Macmillan, 1897. Pp. 492. $2.25.

Sayce, A. H. Patriarchal Palestine. New York: E. & J. B. Young & Co., 1895. Pp. 277. $1.50.

Paton, L. B. The Early History of Syria and Palestine. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1901. Pp. 302. $1.25.

Peters, John P. Early Hebrew Story: Its Historical Background. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1904. Pp. 308. $1.25.

Hunter, P. H. After the Exile: A Hundred Years of Jewish History and Literature. Two volumes. Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1890. Pp. 631. 10*s*.

Stade, B. Geschichte des Volkes Israel. Band I. Berlin: G. Grote, 1887. Pp. 710. M. 16.

Guthe, H. Geschichte des Volkes Israel. Second edition. Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr, 1904. Pp. 369. M. 6.

Klostermann, A. Geschichte des Volkes Israel bis zur Restauration unter Esra und Nehemia. München: Oskar Beck, 1896. Pp. 283. M. 4.50.

Thomas, C. Geschichte des alten Bundes. Magdeburg: S. Bühling, 1897. Pp. 819. M. 9.

Löhr, M. Geschichte des Volkes Israel. Strassburg: Trübner, 1900. Pp. 175. M. 2.

Piepenbring, C. Histoire du peuple d'Israël. Paris: Grassart, 1898. Pp. 730. Fr. 7.

Winckler, H. Geschichte Israels in Einzeldarstellungen. Leipzig: Eduard Pfeiffer, 1895–1900. Two volumes, Pp. 527. M. 18.50.

Oettli, S. Die Geschichte Israels. Band I—Bis zu Alexander dem Grossen. Stuttgart: Vereinsbuchhandlung, 1905. Pp. 566. M. 4.50.

Erbt, W. Die Hebräer. Kanaan im Zeitalter der hebräischen Wanderung und hebräischer Staatengründungen. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1906. Pp. 236. M.

Meyer, E. Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme. Alttestamentliche Untersuchungen mit Beiträgen von Bernhard Luther. Halle: Niemeyer, 1906. Pp. xvi+576. M. 14.

Spiegelberg, W. Der Aufenthalt Israels in Aegypten im Lichte der aegyptischen Monumente. Fourth edition. Strassburg: Schlesier und Schweikhardt, 1904. Pp. 55. M. 1.

Steuernagel, C. Die Einwanderung der israelitischen Stämme in Kanaan. Historisch-kritische Untersuchungen. Berlin: C. A. Schwetschke und Sohn, 1901. Pp. 131. M. 3.60.

Nagel, G. Der Zug des Sanherib gegen Jerusalem nach den Quellen dargestellt. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1902. Pp. 124. M. 2.50.

Kosters, W. H. Die Wiederherstellung Israels in der persischen Periode. Heidelberg: J. Hörning, 1895. Pp. 127. M. 2.80.

Meyer, Eduard. Die Entstehung des Judenthums; eine historische Untersuchung. Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1896. Pp. 244. M. 6.

Hoonacker, A. van. Nouvelles études sur la restauration juive après l'exile de Babylone. Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1896. Pp. 319. Fr. 8.

Nikel, J. Die Wiederherstellung des jüdischen Gemeinwesens nach dem Babylonischen Exil [Biblische Studien, V. Band, 2. und 3. Heft]. Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1900. Pp. 228. M. 5.40.

Sellin, Ernst. Serubbabel. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der messianischen Erwartung und der Entstehung des Judenthums. Leipzig: A. Deichert, 1898. Pp. 322. M. 4.50.

Sellin, Ernst. Studien zur Entstehungsgeschichte der jüdischen Gemeinde nach dem babylonischen Exil. I, Der Knecht Gottes bei Deuterojesaja. II, Die Restauration der jüdischen Gemeinde in den Jahren. 538–16. Das Schicksal Serubbabels. Leipzig: A. Deichert, 1901. Two volumes. Pp. 501. M. 10.

Willrich, H. Juden und Griechen vor der Makkabäischen Erhebung. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1895. Pp. 185. M. 4.

Various Articles. W. E. Barnes in Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible, art. "History of Israel;" H. Guthe, in Encyclopaedia Biblica, art. "Israel;" J. Wellhausen, in Encyclopaedia Britannica, 9th ed., art. "Israel."

EWALD'S massive history is now little more than a historical landmark, though parts of it, for example Vol. V. still repay examination. WELLHAUSEN'S Prolegomena is invaluable for purposes of orientation and can never lose its significance as the epoch-making herald of the era of historical criticism. WELLHAUSEN'S Sketch is a clear constructive presentation of the main outlines of Israel's history from the point of view of literary criticism. KITTEL'S volumes carry the history as far as the exile; they are characterized by full and careful discussion of the sources, and constitute the most-learned and reliable history written by a moderate critic. RENAN is now little more than a name; his work possesses brilliancy, dash, and literary charm, but is lacking in critical judgment. SMITH'S is the best one volume history in English from the view-point of the thorough-going, consistent exponent of the principles of historical and literary criticism. WADE gives a careful and admirable résumé of critical results. This is, perhaps, the best single-volume treatment for beginning students. OTTLEY is more elementary and cautious than Wade. KENT'S volumes make a good textbook for college and theological classes. SAYCE'S volumes are ingenious, but unreliable; useful therefore only to the scholar. PATON'S volume is by all odds the best work extant on this early period. PETERS gives a critical, suggestive, and sympathetic treatment of the early Hebrew traditions. HUNTER'S history of the post-exilic period is a careful, laborious study from a point of view now somewhat out of date. Among German historians STADE stands at the head for critical insight, breadth of view and philosophic grasp. Though now somewhat old, it has not yet become antiquated. GUTHE has written probably the most popular Hebrew history, and if is at the same time thoroughly scholarly in spirit and method. KLOSTERMANN is original, brilliant, and instructive; but not lacking in vagaries. THOMAS has not attempted any contribution to historical science, but only a good pedagogic method of presentation. LÖHR'S sketch is true to the main facts, and furnishes a good bird's-eye view. PIEPENBRING has written the best French history of Israel, and it ranks well with the more popular histories in other languages. WINCKLER is one of the leaders of a new school of interpreters who find larger mythical and more Babylonian elements in the Hebrew traditions than do the majority of scholars. OETTLI is popular and essentially conservative in method and aim. ERBT has constructed a history of Israel giving especial attention to the Conquest and abounding in new theories.

On special periods or topics of Israelitish history the following are the more important studies: MEYER contributes a critical evaluation of the old traditions of Israel with a reconstruction of the patriarchal history. SPIEGELBERG and STEUERNAGEL present the Egyptian Sojourn and the Conquest of Palestine, respectively, from new points of view which demand attention. Sennacherib's invasion is handled by NAGEL in a scholarly and conservative manner. Recent years have seen a large output of literature upon the problems connected with the return from exile and the reconstruction of Jerusalem. For these problems KOSTERS' book was of epoch-making significance and must be read. MEYER and NIKEL offer learned and careful studies in opposition to Kosters' position. VAN HOONACKER follows paths of his own making partly, and will well repay study. SELLIN'S volumes are interesting and valuable for their suggestive power, though he himself quickly abandoned the main contention of his *Serubbabel*. WILLRICH has done a useful piece of work on the relations between Jews and Greeks just prior to the Maccabaean uprising.

3. THE PEOPLES RELATED TO ISRAEL

Maspero, G. The Dawn of Civilization: Egypt and Chaldaea. Edited by A. H. Sayce. New York: Appletons, 1894. Pp. xii+800. $7.50.

Maspero, G. The Struggle of the Nations: Egypt, Syria, and Assyria. Edited by A. H. Sayce. New York: Appletons, 1897. Pp. xii+794. $7.50.

Maspero, G. The Passing of the Empires; 850 B. C. to 330 B. C. Edited by A. H. Sayce. New York: Appletons, 1900. Pp. xii+824. $7.50.

Breasted, J. H. A History of Egypt, from the Earliest Times to the Persian Conquest. New York: Scribners, 1905. Pp. xxxi+634+Map. $6.

Petrie, W. M. Flinders. A History of Egypt. Three volumes. New York: Scribners, 1895. Pp. xv+262; xvi+353; $2.25 a volume.

Budge, E. A. W. A History of Egypt from the end of the Neolithic Period to the Death of Cleopatra VII, B. C. 30. 8 vols. New York: Henry Frowde, 1902. Pp. cli+1910. *3s. 6d.* per volume.

Wiedemann, A. Geschichte Aegyptens von Psammetich I bis auf Alexander den Grossen. Leipzig: Barth, 1880. Pp. vi+312.

Wiedemann, A. Geschichte von Alt-Aegypten. [Reiche der Alten Welt, I.] Stuttgart: Verlags-Verein, 1891. Pp. 320. M. 3.30.

Erman, Adolf. Life in Ancient Egypt. London and New York: Macmillan, 1894. Pp. xi+570. $6.

Budge, E. A. W. Dwellers on the Nile. [By-Paths of Bible Knowledge, VIII.] London: Religious Tract Society, 1885. Pp. 204. $1.25.

Goodspeed, G. S. A History of the Babylonians and Assyrians. New York: Scribners, 1902. Pp. xiii+422+Map. $1.25.

Rogers, R. W. A History of Babylonia and Assyria. Two volumes. New York: Eaton & Mains, 1900. Pp. xx+429; xv+418. $6.

Sayce, A. H. Babylonians and Assyrians: Life and Customs. [The Semitic Series.] New York: Scribners, 1899. Pp. x+266. $1.25.

Budge, E. A. W. Babylonian Life and History. [By-Paths of Bible Knowledge, IV.] London: Religious Tract Society, 1886. Pp. 160. $1.25.

Tiele, C. P. Babylonische-Assyrische Geschichte. [Handbücher der alten Geschichte, I. 4.] Two volumes. Gotha: Perthes, 1886. Pp. xiii+282; vi+283–647. M. 10.

Winckler, H. Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens. [Völker und Staaten des alten Orients, I.] Leipzig: Pfeiffer, 1892. Pp. xii+356. M. 7.

Hommel, F. Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens. [Oncken's Allgemeine Geschichte.] Berlin: Grote, 1885. Pp. vi+802. M. 17.50.

Delitzsch-Mürdter. Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens. [Reiche der alten Welt, Bd. II.] Calev u. Stuttgart:Vereinsbuchhandlung, 1891. Pp. 264+Plans. M. 3.30.

Movers, F. C. Die Phoenizier. Bonn: Weber, 1841–56. (Out of print.)

Rawlinson, George. History of Phoenicia. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1889. Pp. xxii+583. *24s.*

Pietschmann, R. Geschichte der Phoenizier. [Oncken's Allgemeine Geschichte.] Berlin: Grote, 1889. Pp. 312. M. 8.

Noordtzij, A. De Filistijnen. Hun Afkomst en Geschiedenis. Kampen: Kok, 1905. Pp. 247. F. 2.25.

Buhl, Frants. Geschichte der Edomiter. [Reformationsfest Programm der Universität-Leipzig, 1893.]

Montgomery, James A. The Samaritans. Philadelphia: John C. Winston Co., 1907. Pp. 400 with 28 illustrations. $2.

Justi, F. Geschichte des alten Persiens. [Oncken's Allgemeine Geschichte.] Berlin: Grote, 1879. Pp. x+252. M. 7.50.

Meyer, Eduard. Geschichte des Alterthums; Vol. I, Geschichte des Orients bis zur Begründung des Perserreichs. Vol. III, Das Perserreich und die Griechen. Stuttgart: Cotta, 1884–91. Pp. xxxii+1338.

Müller, W. Max. Asien und Europa nach altägyptischen Denkmälern. Leipzig: Engelmann, 1893. Pp. x+403. M. 24.

Hommel, F. Die Semitischen Völker und Sprachen. Leipzig: Schulze, 1883. Pp. xii+541. M. 10.

MASPERO's three massive volumes constitute a history of the Ancient Orient and are as reliable as such comprehensive works prepared by one author can be expected to be; in their English form they have suffered many things at the hands of their editor. BREASTED's narrative is fascinating and based upon the original sources; it is the most recent and reliable work on Egyptian history. PETRIE's volumes are rather the work of the excavator than that of the historian, being little more than a catalogue of inscriptions and their contents. BUDGE's History, though full of mistakes and inaccuracies, has many good things buried within its depths. WIEDEMANN's volumes are now both outgrown, Egyptian sources of information having multiplied so rapidly; but they deserve a place on the specialist's shelf. ERMAN's volume is the best work on ancient Egyptian life, though badly in need of revision in the light of more recent knowledge. BUDGE's popular handbooks on Egyptian and Babylonian life and customs are to a considerable extent out of date and unreliable; but are, perhaps, better than nothing.

GOODSPEED has given us the best one-volume history of Babylonia; it is admirably adapted to use in the classroom or the study. ROGERS' more pretentious work is a careful evaluation of other men's labors and will be found useful to the more advanced student. SAYCE's handbook is intended for popular use, but is an unsafe guide. TIELE's was long the standard history of Assyria, but is now somewhat old. WINCKLER and HOMMEL are both brilliant, suggestive, and somewhat erratic, though entirely different in method and spirit. DELITZSCH is philologically strong, but somewhat weak in constructive, philosophic capacity.

The best history of Phoenicia is that of PIETSCHMANN. RAWLINSON provides the only work in English, aside from the articles in the various encyclopaedias and Bible Dictionaries. MOVERS was long the standard history, but is now seen to be unreliable and fanciful to a great degree. NOORDTZIJ is the only writer on the Philistines and his book deserves translation into German and English. BUHL has brought together the known facts concerning Edom in a brief study, which is practically inaccessible to the public at large. MONTGOMERY has made an exhaustive study of the Samaritan literature and produced a thoroughly good book. There is room for a first-class work on Persia; meantime JUSTI is the best available separate treatment; but a better source of information is furnished by MEYER in his History of Antiquity. MAX MÜLLER's volume is a careful and accurate interpretation of the facts concerning various lands as reflected in Egyptian inscriptions. HOMMEL's study of Semitic peoples and their languages is a combination of learning and ingenuity to be used with caution.

4. THE OLD TESTAMENT AND THE MONUMENTS

McCurdy, J. F. History, Prophecy and the Monuments. Three volumes. New York: Macmillan, 1894–1901. Pp. xxiv+425; xxi+433; xxiii+470. $3 a volume.

Hogarth, D. G. (editor). Authority and Archaeology, Sacred and Profane. Essays on the Relation of Monuments to Biblical and Classical Literature, by S. R. Driver, E. A. Gardner, F. Ll. Griffith, F. Haverfield, A. C. Headlam, D. G. Hogarth, with an introductory chapter on the Nature of Archaeology, by the editor. New York: Scribners, 1899. Pp. xiv+440. $5.

Price, Ira M. The Monuments and the Old Testament. Fifth edition. Chicago: Christian Culture Press, 1907. Pp. 321. $1.50.

Nicol, Thomas. Recent Archaeology and the Bible [The Croall Lectures for 1898]. Edinburgh and London: Blackwood 1899. Pp. xii+333. 9*s*.

Ball, C. J. Light from the East, or the Witness of the Monuments. An Introduction to the Study of Biblical Archaeology. London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1899. Pp. 277 (with more than 200 illustrations). 15*s*.

Jeremias, Alfred. Das Alte Testament im Lichte des alten Orients. Handbuch zur biblisch-orientalischen Altertumskunde. Mit 216 Abbildungen u. 2 Karten. 2. neubearbeitete Auflage. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1906. Pp. xvi+624. M. 10. Gebunden in Leinwand, M. 11.

Sayce, A. H. The Higher Criticism and the Verdict of the Monuments. Fifth edition. London: Soc. Prom. Chrn. Knowledge, 1895. Pp. xv+575.

Vigouroux, F. La bible et les découvertes modernes en Palestine, en Egypte, et en Assyrie. Four volumes. Sixth edition. Paris: Berche et Tralin, 1896. Pp. xvi+578; 612; 646; 716. Fr. 10 per volume.

Pinches, T. G. The Old Testament, in the Light of the Historical Records and Legends of Assyria and Babylonia. Second edition. London: Soc. Prom. Chrn. Knowledge, 1905. Pp. 520. $2.50.

Clay, A. T. Light on the Old Testament from Babel. Philadelphia: Sunday School Times Co., 1907. Pp. xvi+437. $2.

Gunkel, H. Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1895. Pp. xiv+431. M. 10.

Delitzsch, Friedrich. Babel and Bible. Two Lectures. Translated from German by C. H. W. Johns [Crown Theol. Library]. New York: Putnam, 1903. Pp. xxix+226. $1.50.

Schrader, E. Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament. Dritte Auflage, neubearbeitet von H. Zimmern und H. Winckler. Berlin: Reuther und Reichard, 1902. Pp. 680. M. 21.

Gunkel, H. Israel und Babylonien: Der Einfluss Babyloniens auf die israelitische Religion. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1903. Pp. 48. M. 1.20.

Harper, R. F. The Code of Hammurabi, King of Babylon, about 2250 B. C. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1904. Pp. xv+192+CIII Plates. $4.

Cook, S. A. The Laws of Moses and the Code of Hammurabi. London: A. & C. Black, 1903. Pp. xviii+307. 6*s*.

Johns, C. H. W. The Oldest Code of Laws in the World. The Code of Laws Promulgated by Hammurabi, King of Babylon, B. C. 2285–2242. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1903. Pp. xii+88. $0.75.

Müller, D. H. Die Gesetze Hammurabis, und ihr Verhältniss zur mosaischen Gesetzgebung sowie zu den XII Tafeln. Wien: Hölder, 1903. Pp. 285. M. 10.

Oettli, S. Das Gesetz Hammurabis und die Thora Israels. Leipzig: Deichert, 1903. Pp. 88. M. 1.60.

Bliss, F. J., and Macalister, R. A. S. Excavations in Palestine during the years 1898–1900. With a chapter by Dr. Wünsch and numerous illustrations from photographs and from drawings made on the spot. London: Palestine Exploration Fund, 1902. Pp. xvi+275 and 102 Plates. 50*s*.

Bliss, F. J. The Development of Palestine Exploration, Being the Ely Lectures for 1903. New York: Scribners, 1906. Pp. xix+337. $1.50.

Hilprecht, H. V. Explorations in Bible Lands during the Nineteenth Century. Philadelphia: Holman, 1903. Pp. xxiv+810+Maps. $6.

Vincent, H. Canaan d'après l'exploration récente. Paris: J. Gabalda et Cie, 1907. Pp. xii+495.

McCURDY's volumes give more than a mere description of the monuments; they present rather a reconstruction of the history of Israel and its neighbors in the light of the monuments. The spirit and method of the author are cautious and conservative, and his learning sound. The best relatively brief survey of the contribution of the monuments to our knowledge of biblical history is that made by Driver and Griffith in the first 220 pages of HOGARTH. PRICE furnishes a popular treatment with many illustrations. NICOL covers the whole field of biblical literature, but is largely dependent upon the opinions of others and holds a brief in behalf of traditional views. BALL's value lies chiefly in its large number of splendid illustrations and of citations from texts; his scholarship in the general Semitic field is not of a high grade. SAYCE presents much material of great interest, but his conclusions are largely fanciful and biased. JEREMIAS is a first-hand authority in cuneiform research, but his point of view is that of the new mythological school. VIGOUROUX is the only French work of any value on this subject; it is written from the standpoint of a devout Catholic in good standing with his church.

The relations between Babylonia and Israel have received much attention in recent years. Only the more important works are here listed. PINCHES presents a comprehensive survey of the entire field, but is handicapped by lack of scientific training and an uncritical attitude. CLAY's volume contains much new and valuable information; his attitude is cautious and conservative. DELITZSCH's famous lectures are lacking in a thorough acquaintance and sympathy with Old Testament teachings. SCHRADER's work has been made over by Zimmern and Winckler so as to be no longer recognizable; its mass of interesting facts is accompanied by an abundance of unproved theories. The English translation of the second edition (*Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament*) is still useful. GUNKEL's *Schöpfung* presented the creation-myths from an entirely new point of view which is now receiving much attention; his *Israel und Babylonien* is, on the whole, the best brief survey extant of the subject with which it deals. In the Hammurabi literature HARPER furnishes the standard text and English translation of the CODE. COOK gives the fairest presentation of the relations between Hammurabi and Moses. JOHNS' booklet furnishes a good translation in cheap form. MÜLLER's cuneiform scholarship is not first-class and his theory of the relation between Hammurabi and Moses is more ingenious than convincing. OETTLI's pamphlet is popular in tone and conservative in aim.

BLISS and MACALISTER's volume is a full report of the important excavations carried on under their direction. BLISS's Ely Lectures give a bird's-eye view of the history of Palestine exploration; it is well-written and thoroughly reliable. HILPRECHT's pretentious volume contains brief but good reports of work in Egypt by Steindorff, in Arabia by Hommel, in Palestine by Benzinger, and among Hittite remains by Jensen; Assyria and Babylonia are well done by Hilprecht himself, but with undue emphasis and prominence to his own share in the explorations. VINCENT's recent book seems to be a credit to French scholarship and so well worth study.

II. INTRODUCTION TO THE OLD TESTAMENT

I. THE ENTIRE OLD TESTAMENT

Briggs, C. A. General Introduction to the Study of Holy Scripture. New York: Scribners, 1899. Pp. xxii+688. $3.

Green, W. H. General Introduction to the Old Testament—The Text. New York: Scribners, 1899. Pp. xv+190. $1.50.

Gigot, F. General Introduction to the Study of the Holy Scriptures. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago: Benziger Bros., 1900. Pp. 606. $2.

Driver, S. R. An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament. Sixth edition. New York: Scribners, 1897. Pp. xx+xi+577. $2.50.

Cornill, C. Introduction to the Canonical Books of the Old Testament. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1907. Pp. xii+556. $3.

Kautzsch, E. An Outline of the History of the Literature of the Old Testament, with Chronological Tables for the History of the Israelites, and other Aids to the Explanation of the Old Testament. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1899. Pp. xii+251. $2.

Wright, C. H. H. An Introduction to the Old Testament. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1890. Pp. xvi+226. *2s. 6d.*

McFadyen, J. E. An Introduction to the Old Testament. New York: Armstrong, 1905. Pp. xii+356. $1.75.

Abbott, Lyman. The Life and Literature of the Ancient Hebrews. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Company, 1901. Pp. xiii+408. $3.

Orr, James. The Problem of the Old Testament Considered with Reference to Recent Criticism [The Bross Library, Vol. III]. New York: Scribners, 1906. Pp. 614. $1.75.

Budde, K. Geschichte der althebräischen Litteratur. Mit Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen von A. Bertholet. Leipzig: C. F. Amelang, 1906. Pp. xvi+433. M. 7.50.

Strack, H. L. Einleitung in das Alte Testament. Einschliessliche Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen. Sixth edition. München: Beck, 1906. Pp. viii+256. M. 4.

König, Eduard. Einleitung in das Alte Testament. Bonn: Flittner, 1893. Pp. xii+580. M. 13.

König, Eduard. Stilistik, Rhetorik, Poetik in Bezug auf die biblische Litteratur. Leipzig: Dieterich, 1900. Pp. vi+421. M. 12.

Kuenen, A. Historisch-kritisch Onderzoek naar het Ontstaan en de Vergameling van de Boeken des Ouden Verbonds. 3 Parts. Leiden: Engels, 1887–94. Pp. xi+554; x+508; xi+209. (German translation is published in Leipzig, by Reisland.)

Wildeboer, G. De Letterkunde des Ouden Verbonds naar de Tijdsorde van Haar Ontstaan. Third edition. Groningen: Wolters, 1903. Pp. xi+442. (German translation of the first edition is published by Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, Leipzig.)

BRIGGS constitutes one of the most comprehensive extant works on Introduction, and is concerned not with detailed information about the various biblical books, but with the general character of the biblical material and the principles and methods that should control biblical study. GREEN, the most learned representative of traditional views, was prevented by death from completing his volumes on Introduction; the treatment of the text here given is concise and conservative. GIGOT'S volume deals with canon, text, principles of interpretation, and inspiration from the standpoint of a liberal Catholic. DRIVER is the standard work on Introduction and should be in the library of every minister. CORNILL'S volume, just translated from the German, is easier reading than Driver, and written from a more radical view-point, but not so replete with information. KAUTSZCH'S *Outline* is a useful compendium of the views of a typical scholar. WRIGHT is popular in aim, and traditional in spirit. MCFADYEN'S book is intended for popular use, and is well suited to its purpose; the tone is progressive but irenic. ABBOTT is a useful, popular presentation of the newer views of the Old Testament, without any of the wearisome details of scholarship. ORR'S volume contains the most scholarly attack upon the critical position that has been made in recent years; but ORR is himself half a critic. BUDDE has marked out a new path in Old Testament Introduction by treating the Hebrew literature as a living organism and tracing its growth in relation to its historical environment, instead of handling it piecemeal, book by book. STRACK is characterized by brevity, full citations of literature, and a moderate critical attitude. KÖNIG'S *Einleitung* is enriched by a mass of detailed information and is conservatively critical; his *Stilistik* is wearisome with its innumerable citations of passages and statistics, but very useful. KUENEN, once in the forefront of criticisim, is now somewhat out of touch with the present trend of scholarship but is still valuable for the special student. WILDEBOER is the Dutch equivalent of Driver, scholarly, cautious, and reverent.

2. INTRODUCTION TO THE HEXATEUCH

Carpenter, J. Estlin, and Battersby, G. Harford. The Hexateuch according to the Revised Version, Arranged in Its Constituent Documents by Members of the Society of Historical Theology, Oxford. Edited with Introduction, Notes, Marginal References and Synoptical Tables. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1900. Two volumes. Pp. 638. 36*s*.

Carpenter, J. Estlin, and Battersby, G. Harford. The Composition of the Hexateuch. An Introduction, with Select Lists of Words and Phrases, and an Appendix on Laws and Institutions. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1902. Pp. 537. 18*s*.

Kent, C. F. The Student's Old Testament. Vol. I, Narratives of the Beginnings of Hebrew History, from the Creation to the Establishment of the Hebrew Kingdom. With Maps and Chronological Chart. New York: Scribners, 1904. Pp. 411. $2.75.

Addis, W. E. The Documents of the Hexateuch Translated and Arranged in Chronological Order with Introduction and Notes. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1893–98. Two volumes. Pp. 721. 21*s*.

Kuenen, A. An Historico-Critical Inquiry into the Origin of the Hexateuch. Translated from the Dutch by P. H. Wicksteed. London: Macmillan, 1886. Pp. 344. 14*s*.

Briggs, C. A. The Higher Criticism of the Hexateuch. Second edition. New York: Scribners, 1897. Pp. 288. $2.50.

Green, W. H. The Higher Criticism of the Pentateuch. New York: Scribners, 1895. Pp. 184. $1.50.

Mitchell, H. G. The World before Abraham, according to Gen. i–xi, with an Introduction to the Pentateuch. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1901. Pp. 303. $1.75.

Gunkel, H. The Legends of Genesis. Chicago: Open Court Publishing Co., 1901. Pp. 164. $1.

Wade, G. Woosung. The Book of Genesis. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1896. Pp. 272. 6*s*.

Green, W. H. The Unity of the Book of Genesis. New York: Scribners, 1895. Pp. 583. $3.

Davis, John D. Genesis and Semitic Tradition. New York: Scribners, 1894. Pp. 150. $1.50.

Bacon, B. W. The Genesis of Genesis—A Study of the Documentary Sources of the First Book of Moses in Accordance with the Results of Biblical Science Illustrating the Presence of Bibles within the Bible. With an Introduction by G. F. Moore. Hartford: Student Publishing Co., 1892. Pp. 371. $2.50.

Bacon, B. W. The Triple Tradition of the Exodus. A Study of the Structure of the Later Pentateuchal Books, Reproducing the Sources of the Narrative, and further Illustrating the Presence of Bibles within the Bible. Hartford: Student Publishing Co., 1894. Pp. 440. $2.75.

Cullen, J. The Book of the Covenant in Moab. A Critical Enquiry into the Original Form of Deuteronomy. Glasgow: Maclehose, 1903. Pp. 254. 5*s*.

Wellhausen, J. Die Composition des Hexateuchs und der historischen Bücher des Alten Testaments. Second edition. Berlin: G. Reimer, 1889. Pp. 373. M. 9.

Holzinger, H. Einleitung in den Hexateuch. Mit Tabellen über die Quellenscheidung. Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr, 1893. Pp. xvi+511. M. 15.

Steuernagel, C. Allgemeine Einleitung in den Hexateuch [in his Commentary on Deuteronomium und Josua (1900), pp. 249–86].

Dillmann, A. Die Bücher Numeri, Deuteronomium und Josua. Second edition, 1886. Pp. 593–690.

Westphal, A. Les sources du Pentateuque. Étude de critique et d'histoire. Two volumes. Paris: Fischbacher, 1888 and 1892. Pp. 806. Fr. 15.

Steuernagel, C. Der Rahmen des Deuteronomiums. Halle a. S.: J. Krause, 1894. Pp. 64. M. 1.

Steuernagel, C. Die Entstehung des deuteronomischen Gesetzes kritisch und biblisch-theologisch untersucht. Halle a. S.: J. Krause, 1896. Pp. 190. M. 4.

Staerk, W. Das Deuteronomium, sein Inhalt und seine literarische Form. Eine kristische Studie. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1894. Pp. 119. M. 4.

Fries, S. Die Gesetzschrift des Königs Josia. Leipzig: Deichert, 1903. Pp. 85. M. 1.80.

Zahn, A. Das Deuteronomium. Eine Schutzschrift wider das moderne kritische Unwesen. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1890. Pp. 130. M. 1.60.

Procksch, O. Das nordhebräische Sagenbuch. Die Elohim-Quelle, übersetzt und untersucht. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1906. Pp. 394. M. 13.50.

Budde, K. Die biblische Urgeschichte, Gen. 1:1—12:5, untersucht. Giessen: J. Ricker, 1883. Pp. 539. M. 14.

Baentsch, B. Das Bundesbuch, Exod. 20:22—23:33, seine ursprüngliche Gestalt, sein Verhältniss zu den es umgebenden Quellenschriften und seine Stellung in der alttestamentlichen Gesetzgebung. Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1892. Pp. 123. M. 2.80.

Baentsch, B. Das Heiligkeitsgesetz. Lev., 17–26. Erfurt: Güther, 1893. Pp. 160. M. 4.

Gall, A. von. Zusammensetzung und Herkunft der Bileamperikope in Num., 22–24. Giessen: J. Ricker, 1900. Pp. 47. M. 1.50.

Wobersin, Franz. Die Echtheit der Bileamsprüche, Num., 22–24. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1900. Pp. 80. M. 1.20.

Various Articles. J. Wellhausen, in Encyclopaedia Biblica, art. "Hexateuch;" G. F. Moore, *ibid.*, arts. "Genesis," "Exodus," "Deuteronomy," "Leviticus," "Numbers," "Joshua;" F. H. Woods, in Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible, art. "Hexateuch;" H. E. Ryle, *ibid.*, arts. "Genesis," "Deuteronomy;" G. A. Smith, *ibid.*, art. "Joshua;" G. Harford-Battersby, *ibid.*, arts. "Exodus," "Leviticus," "Numbers;" W. R. Harper and W. H. Green, in *Hebraica* Vols. V–VIII. S. R. Driver, in Smith's Dictionary of the Bible, 2d. ed., art. "Deuteronomy;" G. L. Robinson, in Expositor for 1898 and 1899, art. "The Genesis of Deuteronomy;" G. B. Gray, in Encyclopaedia Biblica, art. "Law Literature."

Among special introductions to the Hexateuch, CARPENTER AND BATTERSBY'S is the standard. In clearness of presentation together with fulness of detail it is unequaled. The one-volume edition contains everything that is in the two-volume edition except the biblical text itself. ADDIS and KENT each combine text and introduction, the latter furnishing, moreover, a new translation; these are less comprehensive in scope than Carpenter and Battersby, but are good, usable books and interesting to examine for agreements and divergences of opinion. KUENEN'S volume is still of much value both for its strictly scientific method and for its results, which are now largely incorporated in more modern works. BRIGGS and GREEN constitute semi-popular presentations of the critical and the traditional arguments respectively. MITCHELL combines a useful, popular commentary on Gen. 1–11, with the clearest and best introduction to the Pentateuch extant for the layman. GUNKEL'S treatment of the early stories is of great value and indispensable for those desirous of understanding the modern attitude toward this material. GREEN and DAVIS defend the traditional view of the Book of Genesis, the former considering it from the point of view of its self-consistency, the latter dealing with it as related to the corresponding literatures of other peoples. BACON'S volumes exhibit fine critical acumen and have contributed their full share to the formation of present critical opinion. CULLEN is of some value, not especially for any positive results, but as calling the attention of English students to a fresh point of view regarding the date of Deuteronomy.

Of German treatises, WELLHAUSEN is important as a pioneer and master in the field of Hexateuchal criticism. HOLZINGER'S is the best single study of the whole field of introduction to the Hexateuch. STEUERNAGEL is more concise and popular in character. DILLMANN in his commentary on the Hexateuch includes

a full introduction characterized by his well-known learning and setting forth some views peculiarly his own.

WESTPHAL makes no important contribution, but presents the results of modern science in intelligible form for the French reader. The studies of STEUERNAGEL, STAERK, and FRIES are illustrative of the more recent trend of criticism on the book of Deuteronomy. ZAHN makes a brave attempt to stem the current of critical opinion, but without success. PROCKSCH gives a most thorough study of the E document with some new results of much interest. BUDDE and BAENTSCH's monographs are models of good, scholarly work. VON GALL and WOBERSIN discuss the historicity and literary origin of the Balaam-stories.

3. THE REMAINING BOOKS.

Kent, C. F. The Student's Old Testament. Vol. II, Israel's Historical and Biographical Narratives from the Establishment of the Hebrew Kingdom to the End of the Maccabaean Struggle. With Maps and Chronological Charts. New York: Scribners, 1905. Pp. 537. $2.75.

Kent, C. F. The Student's Old Testament. Vol. III, Israel's Laws and Legal Precedents from the Days of Moses to the Closing of the Legal Canon. New York: Scribners, 1907. Pp. xxxv+301. $2.75.

Gigot, F. E. Special Introduction to the Study of the Old Testament. Part I, The Historical Books. Part II, Didactic Books and Prophetical Writings. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago: Benziger, 1901, 1906. Pp. 387–505. $3.50.

Torrey, C. C. The Composition and Historical Value of Ezra-Nehemiah. Giessen: J. C. Ricker, 1896. Pp. 65. M. 2.50.

Davison, W. T. The Wisdom Literature of the Old Testament. London: C. H. Kelley, 1893. Pp. 315. *2s. 6d.*

Davison, W. T. The Praises of Israel. An Introduction to the Study of the Psalms. London: C. H. Kelley, 1892. *2s. 6d.*

Cheyne, T. K. Job and Solomon, or the Wisdom of the Old Testament. London: Kegan, Paul, Trench & Co., 1887. Pp. 322. 12s. *6d.*

Kent, C. F. The Wise Men of Ancient Israel and their Proverbs. Chicago: Silver, Burdett & Co., 1899. Pp. 208. $1.25.

Dillon, E. J. The Original Poem of Job. London: Unwin, 1905. Pp. 150. *5s.*

Kautzsch, K. Das sogenannte Volksbuch von Hiob und der Ursprung von Hiob cap. i, ii–xlii: 7–17. Ein Beitrag zur Frage nach der Integrität des Buches Hiob. Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr, 1900. Pp. v+88. M. 2.40.

McNeile, A. H. An Introduction to Ecclesiastes, with Notes and Appendices. Cambridge: The University Press, 1904. Pp. 177. *7s. 6d.*

Owen, John. The Five Great Sceptical Dramas of History. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1896. Pp. 405. $3.00.

Dillon, E. J. The Skeptics of the Old Testament. London: Isbister, 1895. Pp. 280. *7s. 6d.*

Murray, T. C. Lectures on the Origin and Growth of the Psalms. New York: Scribners, 1880. Pp. 318. $1.50.

Cheyne, T. K. The Origin and Religious Contents of the Psalter in the Light of Old Testament Criticism and the History of Religions. With an Introduction and Appendices [The Bampton Lectures for 1889]. New York: Whittaker, 1895. Pp. xxxviii+517.

Beer, G. Individual- und Gemeindepsalmen. Ein Beitrag zur Erklärung des Psalters. Marburg: Elwert, 1894. Pp. ci+92. M. 4.

Coblenz, F. Über das betende Ich in den Psalmen. Ein Beitrag zur Erklärung des Psalters. [Von der hochwürdigen theologischen Fakultät der Universität Berlin mit dem königlichen Preise gekrönt.] Frankfurt: J. Kaufmann, 1897. Pp. vi+191. M. 3.

Leimdörfer, D. Das Psalter-Ego in den Ich Psalmen. Beitrag zur wissenschaftlichen Psalmenforschung. Mit einem Vorwort von Dr. C. H. Cornill. Hamburg: G. Frizsche, 1898. Pp. 121. M. 3.

Taylor, Isaac. The Spirit of the Hebrew Poetry. London: Bell and Daldy, 1861. Pp. xvi+347.

Herder, I. G. Vom Geist der ebräischen Poesie. Two volumes. Leipzig: 1787.

Kautzsch, E. Die Poesie und die poetischen Bücher des Alten Testaments. Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr, 1902. Pp. vii+109. M. 2.

Bickell, G. Carmina Veteris Testamenti Metrice. Notas criticas et dissertationem de re metrica Hebraeorum adjecit. Venice, 1882. Pp. iv+236. M. 6.50.

Ley, J. Leitfaden der Metrik der hebräischen Poesie, nebst dem ersten Buche der Psalmen nach rhythmischer Vers- und Strophenabteilung mit metrischer Analyse. Halle, 1887. Pp. viii+90.

Sievers, E. Metrische Studien. I. Studien zur Hebräischen Metrik. Leipzig: B. Teubner, 1901. Pp. xii+600. M. 18.

Müller, D. H. Strophenbau und Responsion. Neue Beiträge. Vienna: Hölder, 1898. Pp. 86. M. 2.60.

Grimme, H. Psalmenprobleme. Untersuchungen über Metrik, Strophik und Paseq des Psalmenbuches. Freiburg: B. Veith, 1902. Pp. viii+204. M. 7.20.

Cobb, W. H. A Criticism of Systems of Hebrew Metre. An Elementary Treatise. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1905. Pp. viii+216. 6*s*.

Döller, J. Rhythmus, Metrik und Strophik in der biblisch-hebräischen Poesie, systematisch dargestellt. Paderborn: Schöningh, 1899. Pp. vii+100. M. 2.40.

Cheyne, T. K. Introduction to the Book of Isaiah, with an Appendix Containing the Undoubted Portions of the Two Chief Prophetic Writers in a Translation. London: Adam & Charles Black, 1895. Pp. 488. 24*s*.

Driver, S. R. Isaiah, His Life and Times [Men of the Bible Series]. Chicago: Fleming H. Revell, 1893. Pp. 214. 75c.

Giesebrecht, F. Beiträge zur Jesaiakritik. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1890. Pp. 224. M. 5.

Guthe, H. Das Zukunftsbild des Jesaja. Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1885. Pp. 49. M. 1.20.

Hackmann, H. Die Zukunftserwartung des Jesaia untersucht. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1893. Pp. 174. M. 4.40.

Meinhold, J. Die Jesaja-Erzählungen, Jes. 36–39. Göttingen; Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht 1898. Pp. 108. M. 3.

Ley, J. Historische Erklärung des zweiten Teils des Jesaja. Marburg: Elwert, 1893. Pp. xii+160. M. 3.

Schian, M. Die Ebed-Jahwe Lieder. Halle: Krause, 1895. Pp. iv+62. M. 1.

Laue, L. Die Ebed-Jahwe Lieder. Wittenberg: Wunschmann, 1898. Pp. 74. M. 1.20.

Bertholet, A. Zu Jesaja 53: Ein Erklärungsversuch. Freiburg: J. C. B. Mohr, 1899. Pp. 32. M. 0.75.

Giesebrecht, F. Der Knecht Jahwes des Deutero-Jesaia. Königsberg: Thomas und Oppermann, 1902. Pp. 208. M. 5.60.

Workman, G. C. The Servant of Jehovah, or The Passion-Prophecy of Scripture Analyzed and Elucidated. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1907. Pp. xxvi+250. 5*s*.

Cheyne, T. K. Jeremiah, His Life and Times [Men of the Bible Series]. Chicago: Fleming H. Revell, 1888. Pp. 200. 75c.

Cornill, C. H. Die metrischen Stücke des Buches Jeremia reconstruirt. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1901. Pp. 54. M. 1.50.

Bulmerincq, A. von. Das Zukunftsbild des Propheten Jeremja. Riga: Hörschelmann, 1894. Pp. 138. M. 2.

Erbt, W. Jeremia und seine Zeit. Die Geschichte der letzten fünfzig Jahre des vorexilischen Juda. Beigegeben ist der Untersuchung des Jeremiabuches eine Übersetzung der ursprünglichen Stücke und die Umschrift der Profetensprüche mit Bezeichnung des Rythmus. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1902. Pp. 300. M. 8.

Bertholet, A. Die Verfassungsentwurf des Hesekiel. Freiburg: J. C. B. Mohr, 1896. Pp. 32. M. 1.

Billeb, H. Der wichtigsten Satze der neueren alttestamentlichen Kritik vom Standpunkt der Propheten Amos und Hosea aus betrachtet. Halle: Anton, 1893. Pp. 144. M. 3.

Oettli, S. Amos und Hosea, zwei Zeugen gegen die Anwendung der Evolutionstheorie auf die Religion Israels. [Beiträge zur Förderung christlicher Theologie V.], Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1901. Pp. 101. M. 2.80.

Procksch, O. Die Geschichtsbetrachtung bei Amos, Hosea und Jesaia. Inaugural-Dissertation. Königsberg, 1901. Pp. 44.

Taylor, J. The Massoretic Text and the Ancient Versions of the Book of Micah. London: Williams and Norgate, 1891. Pp. 215. 5*s*.

Ryssel, V. Untersuchungen über die Textgestalt und die Echtheit des Buches Micha. Ein kritischer Commentar zu Micha. Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1887. Pp. 292. M. 8.

Staerk, Willy. Untersuchungen über die Komposition und Abfassungszeit von Zach., 9–14. Inaugural Dissertation. Halle: 1891. Pp. 101.

Grützmacher, G. K. Untersuchung über den Ursprung der in Zach., 9–14 vorliegenden Prophetien. Inaugural Dissertation. Heidelberg: 1892. Pp. 51.

Rubinkam, N. J. The Second Part of the Book of Zechariah. Basel: Reich, 1892. Pp. 92. M. 2.

KENT'S volumes make valuable source-books on the historical and legal materials in the Old Testament; the analysis is conservative, the comment illuminating, and the translation suggestive. GIGOT in a careful, non-committal way presents critical results with arguments for and against them for the consideration of his fellow-Catholics. TORREY'S monograph is scholarly and stimulating, though it does not command the general assent of critics. DAVISON'S handbooks are excellent résumés of the facts about the Wisdom Literature and the Psalter for the general reader. CHEYNE'S introduction to the Wisdom Writings is still of value for scholars, though its author has changed his conclusions greatly since writing this book, KENT'S little book on the sages is in reality an introduction to Proverbs for the ordinary Bible student. and is well adapted to its purpose. DILLON'S two works on the Wisdom Writings are clever and suggestive but lacking in sound judgment and too dependent upon unsafe guides. The study of the structure of Job by KAUTZSCH merits reading; it stands for the practical unity of the book in opposition to the theory that makes it a revamping of an old tradition. MCNEILE presents a sober, scholarly study that should commend itself to all competent judges. OWEN'S work is of interest only for the comparisons and contrasts it furnishes between the biblical and extra biblical treatments of related problems.

There is a rich literature about the Psalter; only a few of the more important works of introduction to the Psalms and to Hebrew poetry are here listed. MURRAY presented the main problems of the Psalter in very clear style; though hardly up to the requirements of present-day criticism, it is nevertheless an excellent work with which to start the study of these questions. CHEYNE'S Bampton Lectures is a work of unrivaled importance for its influence upon the trend of the recent criticism of the Psalter. The important question of the significance of the "I" of the Psalter, whether individual or national, was first made prominent by Smend in *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 1888, pp. 49–147. BEER in a careful monograph accepts Smend's view that the "I" is the nation only in part, finding many Psalms explicable only on the individual basis. COBLENZ, taking up the Psalms one by one, finds a larger national element than did Beer. LEIMDÖRFER reviews 96 "I" psalms, finding 55 to be community psalms, 36 individua psalms, and 5 doubtful. On the character of Hebrew poetry TAYLOR is the most sympathetic English interpreter and HERDER holds the same place in Germany. KAUTZSCH writes in the full light of modern criticism and has given a good popular treatment. On the form of Hebrew poetry BICKELL, LEY, and SIEVERS are the leading representatives of the various theories; Bickell propounded a syllabic system that has found few followers; Ley is the founder of the theory most prevalent today which measures lines by the number of tones they contain; Sievers has made the most exhaustive study of the subject in modern times, and seeks to combine the syllabic and tone-systems. His attempt, however, to make all Hebrew poetry anapaestic is unsuccessful. MÜLLER has worked out a theory of strophic formation which is too complicated and artificial to meet with general favor. GRIMME builds upon Ley's foundation, but ventures to improve upon Ley by adding a system of *morae* which he develops upon the basis of the work of Bellermann, an earlier metricist (1813). COBB gives an admirable survey of the history of Hebrew metrics DÖLLER does the same thing in German.

CHEYNE is one of the standard authorities on Isaiah and represents the best critical work in English on the book. DRIVER'S handbook is well adapted to the needs of the intelligent Sunday-school teacher or college student. GIESEBRECHT'S work on Isaiah is careful and critical, though more cautious than that of Cheyne. GUTHE and HACKMANN discuss the pictures of the future in the book of Isaiah in a thorough manner from the point of view of the literary criticism of their day. MEINHOLD has done a valuable piece of work on the story of Sennacherib's invasion. LEY works out critical results concerning the historical and literary relationships of Isa., chaps. 40–66 for the public at large, but his results meet with much oppo-

sition from scholars. SCHIAN works through the Servant of Jehovah problem thoroughly, furnishing much detailed support for the general position represented by Duhm. LAUE in a most scholarly dissertation seeks to establish the view that the Servant is an *ideal* personality, rather than a historical individual. BERTHOLET originates a new view in identifying the Servant with Eleazar (2 Macc. 6 18–31). GIESEBRECHT presents a powerful argument for the identification of the Servant with the nation of Israel as a whole. WORKMAN presents attractively the view that the pious kernel of the nation is the Servant.

CHEYNE'S *Jeremiah* is the best book to put into the hands of the intelligent layman. CORNILL presents a reconstruction of Jeremiah's poetical passages. The special studies of VON BULMERINCQ and ERBT are of much value to the scholar. BERTHOLET gives an excellent analysis of the purpose of Ezekiel as revealed in his vision of the New Jerusalem. BILLEB, OETTLI, and PROCKSCH call attention to various difficulties for the current critical conception which are furnished by the eighth-century prophets. TAYLOR'S textual treatment of Micah is of average quality, freer in its attitude toward the Massoretic text than RYSSEL, but not approaching the latter in scholarly accuracy and completeness. Of the three studies on Zech., chaps. 9–14, STAERK'S is the most thorough and exhibits the best judgment.

4. THE CANON OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

Kirkpatrick, A. F. The Divine Library of the Old Testament. Its Origin, Preservation, Inspiration, and Permanent Value. Five Lectures. New York: Macmillan, 1891. Pp. xviii+155. $1.

Ryle, H. E. The Canon of the Old Testament. New York: Macmillan, 1892. Pp. xx+304. 6*s*.

Wildeboer, G. The Origin of the Canon of the Old Testament. (Translated from the Dutch by B. W. Bacon.) London: Luzac & Co., 1895. Pp. xii+182. 7*s*. 6*d*.

Green, W. H. General Introduction to the Old Testament Canon. New York: Scribners, 1899. Pp. xvii+209. $1.50.

Buhl, F. Kanon und Text des Alten Testamentes. Leipzig: Faber, 1891. Pp. vi+262. English Translation. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1892. Pp. viii+259. 7*s*. 6*d*. ($2.10).

Reuss, Eduard. Die Geschichte der heiligen Schriften Alten Testaments. Braunschweig: Schwetschke, 1890. Pp. xx+780. M. 15.

KIRKPATRICK is the best popular English work on the Canon. RYLE'S is a more detailed presentation, but also within the range of the average reader. WILDEBOER is the best book in English for scholars; its full citation of sources is of much value. GREEN'S treatment is somewhat elaborate, but spoiled by his theological presuppositions. REUSS and BUHL are indispensable to special students. There are also excellent articles on the Old Testament Canon by BUDDE in *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, F. H. WOODS in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, and H. L. STRACK in *Protestantische Realencyklopadie*, 3d edition.

5. DICTIONARIES OF THE BIBLE

Hastings, James, et al. Dictionary of the Bible. Dealing with Its Language, Literature and Contents, Including the Biblical Theology. New York: Scribners, 1898–1904. Five volumes. Cloth, $6; half leather, $8 a volume.

Cheyne, T. K., and Black, J. S. Encyclopaedia Biblica. A Critical Dictionary of the Literary, Political, and Religious History, the Archaeology, Geography, and Natural History of the Bible. New York: Macmillan, 1899–1903. Four volumes. Cloth, $5; full leather, $7.50 a volume.

Smith, W. and Fuller, J. M. A Dictionary of the Bible, Comprising Its Antiquities, Biography, Geography, and Natural History. Second edition. In three volumes. New York: Scribners, 1893. Pp. xv+3,715. $22.

Davis, John D. A Dictionary of the Bible. Second edition. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1903. Pp. 802. $2.

Guthe, H., et al. Kurzes Bibelwörterbuch. Tübingen: Mohr, 1903. Pp. 768. M. 12.50.

Herzog-Hauck. Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche. Begründet von J. J. Herzog. In dritter verbesserter und vermehrter Auflage unter Mitwirkung vieler Theologen und Gelehrten; herausgegeben von A. Hauck. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1896+(19 vols. thus far published, extending to Sulzer). 12 M. per volume.

HASTINGS' *Dictionary* constitutes the best guide to biblical interpretation for all except the most competent scholars. Its standpoint is that of moderate criticism. CHEYNE is an unsafe leader here because of the large place given to certain vagaries of the editor; these, however, do not detract from the value of other exceedingly important articles by the leading modern Old Testament scholars. In SMITH'S well-known dictionary the revision is limited to Vol. I (1,853 pp.; to be obtained separately, for $13.00) which contains some good Old Testament work by Driver, Kirkpatrick, and others. DAVIS' concise dictionary is controlled by the traditional spirit and method. GUTHE furnishes a popular dictionary from a somewhat advanced critical point of view. HERZOG-HAUCK contains some very learned Old Testament articles by such men as Kittel, Strack, and other conservative critics. A one-volume dictionary with HASTINGS as editor is under way, and will supply a great need for a good, popular Bible Dictionary incorporating the results of modern scholarship.

6. THE NATURE AND VALUE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

Dods, M. The Bible, Its Origin and Nature [The Bross Lectures, 1904]. New York: Scribners, 1905. Pp. xiii+245. $1.

Vernon, A. W. The Religious Value of the Old Testament in the Light of Modern Scholarship. New York: T. Y. Crowell & Co., 1907. Pp. vii+81. $0.90.

McFadyen, J. E. Old Testament Criticism and the Christian Church. New York: Scribners, 1903. $1.50.

Smith, G. A. Modern Criticism and the Preaching of the Old Testament [Eight Lectures on the Lyman Beecher Foundation. Yale University]. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son. 1901. Pp. xii+325. $1.50.

Batten, L. W. The Old Testament from the Modern Point of View. Second edition. New York: E. S. Gorham, 1901. Pp. vi+344. $1.50.

Smith, W. R. The Old Testament in the Jewish Church. A Course of Lectures on Biblical Criticism. Second edition. London: A. & C. Black, 1895. Pp. xiv+458.

Kent, C. F. The Origin and Permanent Value of the Old Testament. New York: Scribners, 1906. Pp. xii+270. $1.25.

Carpenter, J. Estlin. The Bible in the Nineteenth Century. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1903. Pp. xv+512. 10*s*. 6*d*.

Peters, J. P. The Old Testament and the New Scholarship. London: Methuen and Co., 1901. Pp. x+328. 6*s*.

This is a group of books all seeking to justify the application of critical methods to the interpretation of the Scriptures. Any one of them will be found helpful by the inquiring student needing

orientation. Especially good are: VERNON, emphasizing the positive contribution of the Old Testament to religious life and thought, and coming within the limits of an hour's reading; MCFADYEN, characterized by a pleasing style and an irenical spirit; and G. A. SMITH, showing the preachableness of the Old Testament, even when critically understood.

III. THE LANGUAGE AND TEXT OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

1. THE HEBREW TEXT

Kittel, R. Biblia Hebraica. Adjuvantibus professoribus G. Beer, F. Buhl, G. Dalman, S. R. Driver, M. Löhr, W. Nowack, J. W. Rothstein, V. Ryssel. 2 Theile. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1906. x+1324 S. Geb. in 2 Leinenbände, M. 10.40; in 1 Halbldrbd., M. 10. Ausgabe in 15 Heften, M. 1.

Baer, S. and Delitzsch, Franz. Textum masoreticum accuratissime expressit, e fontibus Masorae varie illustravit, notis criticis confirmavit. Leipzig: Tauchnitz, 1869 ff. (Published in separate parts at M. 1 to M. 1.50 per part; Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, and Kings have not appeared.)

Ginsburg, D. "עשרים וארבעה ספרי הקדש וגו London: Trinitarian Bible Society, 1894. 21*s*.

Ginsburg, C. D. Introduction to the Massoretico-critical Edition of the Hebrew Bible. London: Trinitarian Bible Society, 1897. Pp. xii+1028+Tables and Plates. 18*s*. net.

THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT. A Critical Edition of the Hebrew Text, printed in Colors, with Notes. Prepared by eminent biblical scholars of Europe and America under the editorial direction of Paul Haupt. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1893 ff. The parts thus far published are: Genesis (C. J. Ball; M. 7.50); Leviticus (S. R. Driver; M. 2.50); Numbers (J. A. Paterson; M. 5.50); Joshua (W. H. Bennett; M. 3.00); Judges (G. F. Moore; M. 6); Samuel (K. Budde; M 6.50); Kings (B. Stade; M. 18); Isaiah (Cheyne; M. 12.50); Jeremiah (Cornill; M. 5.00); Ezekiel (Toy; M. 7.50); Psalms (Wellhausen; M. 6.00); Proverbs (E. Kautzsch; M. 5.50); Job (C. Siegfried; M. 3.50); Daniel (Kamphausen; M. 3.00); Ezra Nehemiah (Guthe; M. 6.00); Chronicles (Kittel; M. 6.00).

Peters, N. Die älteste Abschrift der zehn Gebote, der Papyrus Nash untersucht. Mit einer Abbildung. Freiburg im B.: Herder, 1905. Pp. 51. M. 1.50.

Strack, H. L. Die Sprüche Jesus, des Sohnes Sirachs. Der jüngst gefundene hebräische Text mit Anmerkungen und Wörterbuch herausgegeben. Leipzig: Deichert, 1903. Pp. vi+74. M. 1.50.

Weir, T. H. A Short History of the Hebrew Text of the Old Testament. London: Williams & Norgate. 1899. Pp. xv+149, and 8 Plates. 5*s*.

OORT, H. (Editor). Textus Hebraici Emendationes Quibus in Vetere Testamento Neerlandice vertendo usi sunt A. Kuenen, J. Hooykaas, W. H. Kosters, H. Oort. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1901. Pp. iv+150.

KITTEL'S is the best working Hebrew Bible for the student. The text is reliable, type clear, price reasonable, and the more generally accepted textual emendations are incorporated in footnotes. The BAER AND DELITZSCH texts are in convenient form and present a large number of variant readings found in

the various manuscripts of the Massoretic text. GINSBURG's Bible and its Introduction constitute the fullest presentation of the Massoretic tradition to be found in any one work. The Bible is too cumbersome and printed on too transparent paper to be desirable for constant use; but it is an indispensable source of reference. HAUPT's *Polychrome Bible* presents the text as emended and analyzed into its original constituent elements by the leading representatives of Old Testament criticism. The notes contain much valuable information. PETERS furnishes a facsimile of the oldest-known bit of manuscript containing a portion of the Old Testament text, viz., the Decalogue and Deut., 6:1–4. He translates it and subjects it to a careful textual scrutiny. STRACK's edition of the text of Ecclesiasticus is convenient, reliable, and cheap. WEIR gives the best concise summary of the facts concerning the transmission of the Hebrew text. OORT's series of emendations deserves attention.

2. THE ANCIENT VERSIONS

Swete, H. B. An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek. Cambridge: University Press, 1900. Pp. xi+592. *7s. 6d.*

Swete, H. B. The Old Testament in Greek according to the Septuagint. Three volumes. Cambridge and New York: Macmillan, 1887–94. Second and third eds. Pp. xxviii+827; xvi+879; xx+879. *7s. 6d.* per volume.

Tischendorf, C. de. Vetus Testamentum Graece juxta LXX Interpretes. Textum vaticanum Romanum emendatius edidit, argumenta et locos novi testamenti parallelos notavit, omnem lectionis Varietatem codicem vetustissimorum Alexandrini, Ephraem Syri, Friderics-Augustani subjunxit, prolegomenis uberrimis instruxit. Editio septima. Prolegomena recognovit supplementum auxit E. Nestle. Two volumes. Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1887. Pp. 1,501. M. 15.

Lagarde, P. de. Librorum veteris Testamenti Canonicorum Pars Prior Graece. Göttingen: A. Hoyer, 1883. Pp. xvi+544. M. 20.

Brooke, A. E., and McLean, N. The Old Testament in Greek, according to the Text of Codex Vaticanus, supplemented from other uncial manuscripts, with a critical apparatus containing the variants of the chief ancient authorities for the text of the Septuagint. Cambridge: University Press, 1906. Vol. I, Part I: Genesis. *7s. 6d.*

Field, F. Origenis Hexaplorum quae supersunt; sive veterum interpretum Graecorum in totum Vetus Testamentum fragmenta. Two volumes. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1875. Pp. cii+1918.

Hatch, Edwin, and Redpath, H. A. Concordance to the Septuagint and other Greek Versions of the Old Testament. New York: Henry Frowde, 1892–96. Six volumes. Pp. 1,504. $31.50. Supplement Fasc. I: a Concordance to the Proper Names occurring in the Septuagint. New York: Henry Frowde, 1900. Pp. 162. $4. Fasc. II: Containing a Concordance to Ecclesiasticus, other addenda, and a Hebrew Index to the whole work. New York: Frowde, 1906. Pp. 163–272. $4.

Oesterley, W. O. E. Studies in the Greek and Latin Versions of the Book of Amos. Cambridge: The University Press, 1902. Pp. viii+112. *4s.*

Hetzenauer, M. Biblia Sacra Vulgatae Editionis. Ex ipsis exemplaribus Vaticanis inter se atque cum indice errorum corrigendorum collatis, critice edidit

Cum approbatione Ecclesiastica. Oeniponte: Wagner, MCMVI. Pp. xxxii + 1,142 + 173. M. 22.

SWETE'S manual edition of the Greek text according to Codex Vaticanus is the best edition for ordinary student use. The introductory volume gives the necessary facts concerning the history, character, and sources of the Greek text. TISCHENDORF presents a more complete text-critical apparatus than Swete and includes a special collation of the Alexandrine and Vatican codices by Nestle. LAGARDE is of considerable value as representing the Lucian recension of the Greek text. The BROOKE and MCLEAN text only the first part of which has yet appeared, is destined to be the standard source of information for many years; its text-critical apparatus is the most complete of any at present accessible to the scholar. FIELD'S Hexapla gives the renderings of Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion, which are valuable for the restoration of the Hebrew Text. HATCH and REDPATH'S concordance is of inestimable value as an aid to the critical use of the Septuagint for the purposes of textual restorations. OESTERLEY'S thesis is of unusual excellence and helpful as indicative of good scholarly method. HETZENAUER'S edition of the Vulgate is the best text of the Vulgate within the reach of the majority of scholars. Good texts of the Targum and Peshitto are unfortunately accessible only in the great Paris and London Polyglots.

3. MODERN VERSIONS

THE AMERICAN STANDARD REVISED VERSION. New York: Thomas Nelson & Sons, first issued in 1901. Issued in more than 100 different forms, sizes, and bindings; from $0.22 up. Also a Teachers' edition embodying "The Bible Treasury," from $2.25 up.

THE REVISED VERSION—British Edition. First issued in 1885. Many editions by Oxford and Cambridge University Presses; also by Thomas Nelson & Sons, of New York.

THE VARIORUM TEACHERS' BIBLE. The Authorized Version with Various Renderings and Readings from the Best Authorities. The Old Testament by T. K. Cheyne and S. R. Driver; The Apocrypha by C. J. Ball; The New Testament by R. L. Clark and W. Sanday. Third edition. London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1892. With a brief Bible Dictionary, Index, and Concordance, by Thomas Nelson & Sons, New York. Many editions, from $2 up.

PARALLEL EDITIONS of the Revised and Authorized Versions. Several editions by Thomas Nelson & Sons, New York, and other publishers.

THE MODERN READER'S BIBLE. Practically the British Revised Version printed in literary form, with Introduction and Notes. Edited by R. G. Moulton. New York: Macmillan, 1898–. Entire Bible issued in twenty-one volumes, $10.

THE TEMPLE BIBLE. The Authorized Version in the Modern Form of Literature, with Brief Introductions. Edited by various British scholars. Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1900–5. Entire Bible in twenty-five volumes; the Apocrypha of the Old Testament, five volumes; $0.40. per volume.

THE MESSAGES OF THE BIBLE. Edited by F. K. Sanders and C. F. Kent. New York: Scribners, 1900–5. The Old Testament in seven volumes: Vol. I, The Messages of the Earlier Prophets, by F. K. Sanders and C. F. Kent; Vol. II, The Messages of the Later Prophets, by F. K. Sanders and C. F. Kent; Vol. III, The Messages of the Lawgivers, by C. F. Kent; Vol. IV, The Messages of the Prophetic and Priestly Historians, by J. E. McFadyen;

Vol. V, The Messages of the Psalmists, by J. E. McFadyen; Vol. VI, The Messages of the Sages; Vol. VII, The Messages of the Dramatic Poets. $1.25 per volume.

Price, Ira M. The Ancestry of Our English Bible. An account of the Bible Versions, Texts, and Manuscripts. Philadelphia: The Sunday School Times Company, 1907. Pp. xxiv+330. $1.50.

DIE HEILIGE SCHRIFT DES ALTEN TESTAMENTS. Ubersetzt von verschiedenen Professoren und herausgegeben von E. Kautzsch. Second edition. Leipzig: Mohr, 1894. S. 1,012 und Beilagen von S. xviii+219. M. 16.50.

The American Standard Revised Version is unquestionably the most accurate English rendering of the Bible; this fact combined with its advance upon the British Revision in chapter headings and marginal references must commend it to all careful interpreters of Scripture. The most useful edition of the Authorized Version is the *Variorum Bible*. Parallel editions are convenient for comparison of the authorized and Revised Versions, but are rather a luxury than a necessity. The *Modern Reader's Bible* presents the Revised Version with emphasis in notes and text upon the literary form. The *Temple Bible* is put up in dainty form but the notes are extremely limited. The *Messages of the Bible* present the contents of the biblical books in clear and modern paraphrase. PRICE gives a clear and concise history of the transmission of the Biblical text from the earliest existing version down to the latest translations. The many illustrations are especially good. KAUTZSCH'S *Heilige Schrift* is a careful, critical translation on the basis of an emended text, with brief introductory and explanatory notes.

4. HEBREW GRAMMAR

Kautzsch-Gesenius. Hebrew Grammar, as edited and enlarged. Translated from the twenty-fifth German edition by the late G. W. Collins; translation revised and adjusted to the twenty-sixth edition by A. E. Cowley. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1898. Pp. xviii+598. $5.25.

Kautzsch-Gesenius. Hebräische Grammatik, völlig umgearbeitet. Sieben und zwanzigste vielfach verbesserte und vermehrte Auflage. Leipzig: Vogel, 1902. Pp. xii+593. M. 7.

Harper, W. R. Elements of Hebrew. New York: Scribners. Third edition, 1885; Eighteenth reprint edition, 1906. Pp. 182. $2.

Harper, W. R. Elements of Hebrew Syntax. New York: Scribners, 1888. $2.

Davidson, A. B. An Introductory Hebrew Grammar. Seventh edition. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1885. Pp. viii+198. 7*s.* 6*d.*

Davidson, A. B. Hebrew Syntax. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1894. Pp. x+233. $2.75.

Bickell, G. Outlines of Hebrew Grammar, Translated from the German by Samuel Ives Curtiss. Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1877. Pp. xiii+140.

Wijnkoop, J. D. Manual of Hebrew Grammar. Revised and Improved Edition. Translated from the Dutch by C. van den Biesen. London: Luzac & Co., 1898. Pp. xvi+158. 5*s.*

Wijnkoop, J. D. Manual of Hebrew Syntax. Translated from the Dutch by C. van den Biesen. London: Luzac & Co., 1897. Pp. xiii+171. 5*s.*

Driver, S. R. A Treatise on the Use of the Tenses in Hebrew, and Some Other Syntactical Questions. Third and Revised Edition. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1892. Pp. xvi+306. 7*s.* 6*d.*

Kennett, R. H. A Short Account of the Hebrew Tenses. Cambridge: The University Press, 1901. Pp. viii+104. 3*s*.

Green, W. H. A Grammar of the Hebrew Language. New edition carefully revised throughout, and the Syntax greatly enlarged. New York: Wiley & Sons, 1889. Pp. viii+418.

Wickes, W. A Treatise on the Accentuation of the Three So-called Poetical Books of the Old Testament, Psalms, Proverbs and Job. With an Appendix containing the treatise, assigned to R. Jehuda ben-Bilʿam, on the same subject, in the original Arabic. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1881. Pp. x+119. 5*s*.

Wickes, Wm. Treatise on the Accentuation of the So-called Prose Books of the Old Testament. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1887. Pp. xvi+155. 5*s*.

Stade, B. Lehrbuch der hebräischen Grammatik. Erster Theil (only one published). Leipzig: Vogel, 1879. Pp. xviii+425.

König, F. E. Historisch-kritisches Lehrgebäude der hebräischen Sprache, mit steter Beziehung auf Qimchi und die anderen Auctoritäten. Two parts in three volumes. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1881–97. Pp. x+710; xiv+602; ix+721. M. .50; bound, M. 57.50.

Ewald, H. Ausführliches Lehrbuch der hebräischen Sprache des Alten Bundes. Achte Ausgabe. Göttingen: Dieterich, 1870. Pp. xvi+959.

KAUTZSCH-GESENIUS is the standard authority on Hebrew Grammar. The German edition is later and much cheaper than the English. HARPER'S manuals are still the best books through which to acquire a knowledge of the Hebrew language. DAVIDSON'S manuals are widely used as elementary guides, but are pedagogically defective. BICKELL'S *Outlines* are intended for somewhat advanced students; they evidence sound philological method. The manuals of WIJNKOOP, though retaining to some extent the old Jewish terminology, are among the best scientific expositions of the laws of the Hebrew language. DRIVER'S *Tenses* is the most complete and satisfactory treatment of the subject. KENNETT is concise and clear, and meant for less advanced students. GREEN'S Grammar is unsatisfactory in its philological basis, especially in the treatment of the vowel-system. WICKES is the standard authority on accentuation, prose and poetical. STADE is rigidly scientific in method, and presupposes some acquaintance with related Semitic languages. KÖNIG provides an exhaustive collection of materials, especially in the syntax, but is too confusing and subjective in his treatment. EWALD, though now out of date, was the most philosophic of Hebrew Grammarians, and has greatly influenced all later writers.

5. HEBREW LEXICONS

Brown, Francis (with the coöperation of S. R. DRIVER and CHARLES A. BRIGGS). A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament; with an Appendix Containing the Biblical Aramaic. Based on the Lexicon of William Gesenius, as translated by Edward Robinson. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1906. Pp. xix+1127. $8.

Buhl, Frants. Wilhelm Gesenius' Hebräisches und Aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament, in Verbindung mit H. Zimmern herausgegeben. Leipzig: Vogel, 1905. Pp. xvi+932. M. 18.

Siegfried-Stade. Hebräisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testamente. Mit zwei Anhängen. I, Lexidion zu den Aramäischen Stüchen des Alten Testamentes; II, Deutsch-hebräisches Wörterverzeichnis. Leipzig: Veit, 1893. Pp. viii+978. M. 18.

The standard Hebrew dictionary is that of Gesenius, now accessible in both English and German. The English edition is characterized by fuller citation of biblical passages than the German, and by a more detailed analysis of the usage of the important words. To the German edition, however, must be given the credit for greater homogeneity throughout, due in part to its having been prepared within a much shorter time, and for a more careful reckoning with the contributions of Assyrian lexicography. SIEGFRIED-STADE was conspicuous at the time of its publication for its comparative disregard of comparative Semitic lexicography with a corresponding emphasis upon the close study of the Hebrew language itself. A great need now is for a lexicon adapted to the needs of English-speaking students in the early stages of their work. Such a compendious edition of the Brown-Driver-Briggs lexicon is said to be under way.

6. ARAMAIC AND SYRIAC GRAMMAR

Kautzsch, E. Grammatik des Biblisch-Aramäischen. Mit einer kritischen Erörterung der aramäischen Wörter im Neuen Testament. Leipzig: Vogel, 1884. Pp. viii+181. M. 4.

Marti, Karl. Kurzgefasste Grammatik der biblischen-aramäischen Sprache. Berlin: Reuther & Reichard, 1896. Pp. xiv+134+90. M. 3.60.

Strack, H. L. Grammatik des Biblisch-Aramäischen, mit den nach Handschriften berichtigten Texten und einem Wörterbuch. Third edition. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1901. Pp. 100. M. 2.

Dalman, Gustaf. Grammatik der jüdisch-palästinischen Aramäisch, nach den Idiomen des palästinischen Talmud, des Onkelostargum und Prophetentargum und der jerusalemischen Targume. Zweite Auflage. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1905. Pp. 419. M. 13.

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9. QUOTATIONS FROM THE OLD TESTAMENT IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

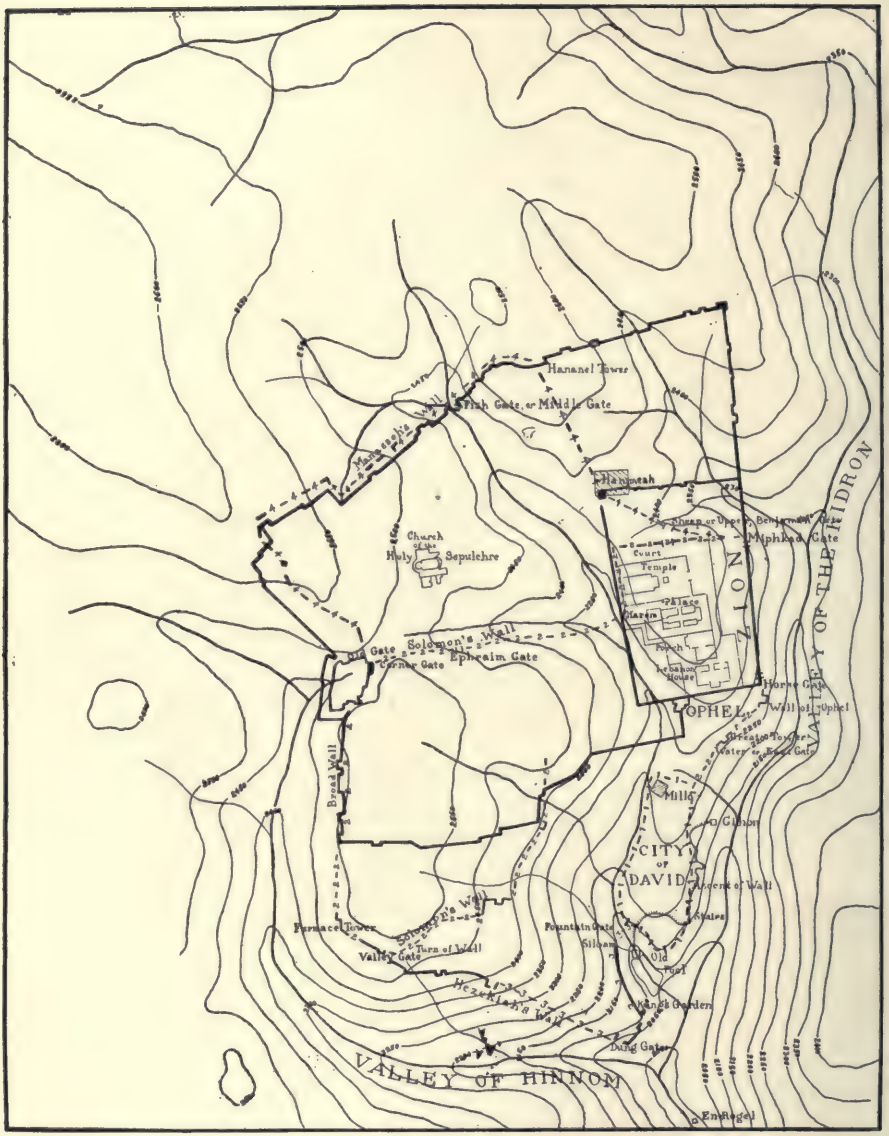
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TOY'S treatment is the best for English students; it is broad and comprehensive, but at the same time concise and clear. HÜHN and DITTMAR present additional materials and differing points of view that the thorough student may not ignore.

(*To be completed in the October issue*)



THE WALLS OF HEZEKIAH AND MANASSEH

THE BIBLICAL WORLD

VOLUME XXX SEPTEMBER, 1907 NUMBER 3

Editorial

WHAT OF THE LAYMAN?

THE REVOLT OF THE LAYMAN

While women are pleading for their rights in politics, men are pleading for their rights in the church. At least this is the claim of men's movements of various sorts. We are told that a new era is about to dawn for the church because the men are going to take hold of affairs. This enthusiasm for religious masculinity is certainly most commendable, and may have in it the potency of great good for the cause of religion. The prophets of Israel were with rare exceptions men, and dealt in virile fashion with the masculine side of life, with politics and the problems of the market place, with the evils that threatened the life of the nation, and the good that a religious national life would bring. And the prophet was often a layman, at least in the sense that he represented no priestly class, and came to his work from no scholastic training and by no formal ordination. Amos was a herdsman; John the Baptist, though of priestly blood, was not a priest. Even Jesus never joined the ranks of priests and scribes. If the new movement is to be a revival upon a large scale of the spirit of ancient prophetism, it has in it the promise of untold good to the church. Women and ministers have their place in the church also. But it is certainly well that we have come to a fresh recognition that the problems which are set before the church will not be solved without the active interest and co-operation of laymen.

IMPROVEMENT IN THE BUSINESS METHODS OF THE CHURCH

But if such a movement is to accomplish the good that is possible to it, it must recognize that religion is more than a branch of business.

Business methods are highly desirable in ecclesiastical management and in too many cases are woefully lacking, but the fault rarely lies with the ministers or with the women. Usually it is chargeable to the men, the official or self-appointed managers of the congregation, who conduct the business of the church in a very unbusinesslike way. If the men's movement can induce the men of the church to attend to the business side of the church in a righteous and efficient fashion, it will have performed a most estimable service. But if it exhausts itself in demanding that spiritual affairs are to be treated as a new type of promotion and in holding conventions in which men discourse on emancipation from women and ministers, it will have less significance than a convention of women planning emancipation from masculine voters. And what is more, a commercialized church would be worse than commercialized art.

INFLUENCE UPON THE RELIGIOUS LIFE OF THE CHURCH

Moreover, quite as important as the introduction of business methods into the conduct of church affairs is the recognition on the part of the laymen that the church has something to do for religion as religion, and in the end depends for its effectiveness on its religion. Men's clubs are valuable adjuncts to the Sunday school, and it is highly desirable that men should cultivate the social graces under the auspices of religion; but a church is something more than a place for good-fellowship, and its mission includes duties even more important than finding homes for young men who have just come to the city from the country. It needs a constituency of influential lives—of brave thinkers and sacrificing givers of themselves. Is not the laity just now made up too largely of men whose interests are primarily commercial and of women whose interests are primarily social?

INFLUENCE ON THE INTELLECTUAL LIFE OF THE CHURCH

But if the religious influence of the layman is the vital consideration, intimately connected with it and vitally affecting it is his intellectual attitude toward religious truth. Familiarity with business in the commercial sense is valuable to the church. But of itself it makes no man a prophet, and imparts no sympathy with the progressive and aggressive spirit that is characteristic of the true prophet and ought

always to characterize the church. For this reason, if for no other, the church needs editors, teachers, lawyers, engineers, physicians, to complement the energy of business men, and to bring a perhaps keener sympathy with the intellectual movements of the day. Men of business know that a reorganization of business methods is necessary every few years, but they are not always aware that the world of religious thought is passing through changes quite as significant as those which have come over the world of business. As a consequence it has come about that in too many cases the thoughtful minister, conscious like the prophet of old of having a message to the men of his day, finds himself out of sympathy with, if not opposed by, influential members of his congregation.

INFLUENCE UPON THE MINISTRY

If it were merely a matter of the comfort of the minister this would be a comparatively trifling matter. In reality, however, it is a question of the efficiency of the church itself. If the gospel is really to affect society, it must capture the intellectual forces as truly as it must appropriate successful commercial methods. The preacher is not a lecturer, but if he cannot preach in terms which are intelligible to men of professional training, to say nothing of the entire generation now so rapidly emerging from our schools and colleges, the church is likely to become of small social significance. The tendency among the choice young men in our colleges to abandon the ministry is likely to increase unless they come to feel that there is a place in the church for laymen who are thinking rather than merely listening while the minister preaches. The church will become of decreasing significance to society at large if the increasing influence of the laymen means that the pastor is permitted to do nothing but reproduce the theology taught him by men who have lost touch with the real world.

There are few ministers who want to preach eccentric doctrines, or whose loyalty to the essential truths of Christianity is open to question. But there are a great many who are keenly aware that the church is losing its hold upon a valuable element in the community—men and women who feel that the minister either does not know what is going on in the world of religious thought, or, knowing, does not dare to say exactly what he believes to be true. Often the minister

does know and would be glad to open up his mind completely to his congregation, but feels himself forced to speak with cautious tactfulness rather than with prophetic frankness and fervor because there are a great many laymen who are earnest in church work but who do not want him to preach anything other than the message they have always believed to be true. Particularly is this true of churches in which there are men who, having abandoned the ministry and having entered some sort of commercial activity, insist that the minister shall preach the very sort of doctrine their own career shows to be ineffective. If the church and its pastor are to be subjected to this sort of control there is little wonder that so many men of real significance in a community decline to have any part in the church. They feel the really formative forces of the changing order lie outside its membership.

TOTAL EFFECT UPON THE CHURCH

It is in championing the freedom of the pulpit, just as truly as in holding men's banquets, and furnishing ushers, and providing special programmes for Sunday services, that the men's movement can help the church. The best men of the community ought to be in the church, but they will not come in unless the church has something for them of really serious importance. If laymen will help the progressive preacher develop the church as one of the great formative influences of society—formative in the world of thought as truly as in the world of everyday morality—they will be of service both to today and to tomorrow. If they oppose such leadership, they will set a premium on inefficient, ill-prepared ministers and a church membership composed of men and women whose ideals are set by those past ages so unlike our own, in which was formed the theology that is called "safe," but is in reality one of the dangers that threaten the intellectual leadership of the church.

Is the new movement to bring a revival of the freedom and courage and virility that has always characterized the true prophet, or is it to be obstructionist and obscurantist? If it is to be the latter the introduction of so-called business methods into the work of the church or even an increase of contributions to missions will be dearly bought. If, the former, it is full of hope for the future.

JERUSALEM IN BIBLE TIMES

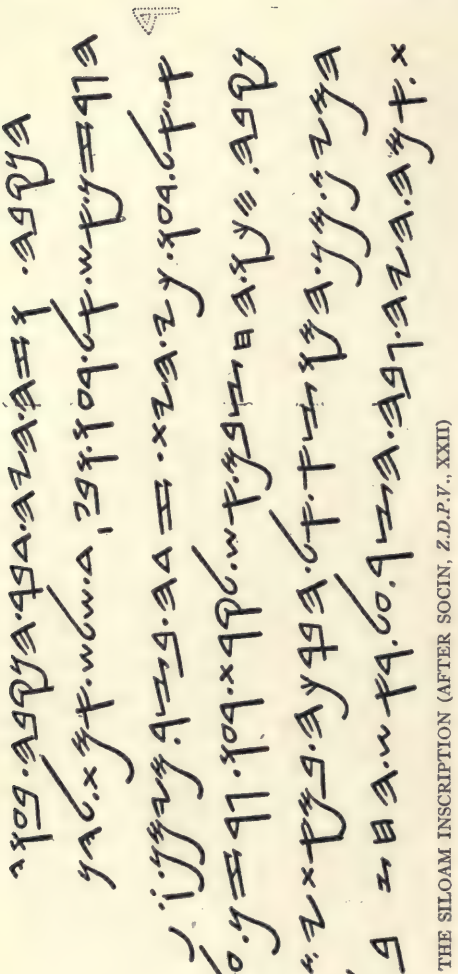
PROFESSOR LEWIS BAYLES PATON, PH.D., D.D.
Hartford Theological Seminary

IX. JERUSALEM UNDER HEZEKIAH AND MANASSEH

After the death of Solomon Jerusalem does not seem to have received any enlargement for nearly two hundred years. The division of the kingdom so weakened Judah that it was scarcely able to hold what it already possessed, let alone to attempt expansion. Jehoshaphat and his successors seem to have been mere vassals of the powerful dynasty of Omri. They are never mentioned in the inscriptions of Shalmaneser II, which probably indicates that Judah was regarded by the Assyrians as a part of Israel. The attempt of Amaziah to throw off the yoke of Israel was unsuccessful, and after Jehoash had broken down the north wall of Jerusalem, the city was reduced to an even more helpless condition than before.

It was not until the northern kingdom began to decline after the death of Jeroboam II, in 744 B. C., that the fortunes of Judah revived. Israel was rent by civil war, and was attacked both by Damascus and by Assyria, so that during this period Judah was able to declare her independence. Uzziah is the first king after Solomon of whom any building operations are recorded (cf. II Chron. 26:9 ff.; and Josephus, *Ant.*, ix, 10:3). His son Jotham, according to II Chron. 27:3, "built the Upper Gate of the House of the Lord, and on the wall of Ophel he built much." Josephus (*Ant.*, ix, 11:2) ascribes to him even greater activity. Of neither of these kings is it stated that they enlarged the area of the city. We must suppose that their work was limited to repairing or strengthening the wall, so that down to the time of Hezekiah the city remained the same as it had been in the days of Solomon. Under Hezekiah and Manasseh, however, new walls were built; and consequently their reigns mark a new period in the architectural history of the city.

Shortly before the beginning of the reign of Hezekiah the northern kingdom was destroyed, and Judah was left the sole inheritor of



THE SILOAM INSCRIPTION (AFTER SOCIN, *Z.D.P.V.*, XXII)

the glory of ancient Israel. Hezekiah was one of the most vigorous kings of the dynasty of David, and he became the leader of the Palestinian states in the struggle with Assyria. In order to carry on this struggle, he was compelled greatly to increase the fortifications of Jerusalem and to make provision for a more abundant water-supply.

1. *The Siloam tunnel.*— One of Hezekiah's most famous undertakings was the conduit by which he brought the water of Gihon into the City of David. In II Kings 20:20 we read: "He made the pool and the conduit and brought water into the city." From this it appears that the new aqueduct was connected with a pool, and that it brought water within the city limits. This corresponds with the rock-hewn tunnel leading from the Virgin's Fountain under the east hill to the Upper Pool of Siloam. In this tunnel an ancient Hebrew inscription has been discovered, stating the circumstances under which it was constructed.

This is the oldest Hebrew inscription that has come down to us. Its writing corresponds with that of the Mesha inscription, and there is general agreement that it is as early as the time of Hezekiah. It reads as follows:

> The tunnel. And this was the construction of the tunnel. While yet . . . . the pick of one was over against the pick of the other, and while yet three cubits remained to be . . . . , the voice of one called to the other; for there was a *zdh* in the rock on the right hand and on the left. And on the day of the tunnel the quarrymen struck each to meet the other, pick against pick. And the water went from the outflow of the pool, one thousand two hundred cubits. And one hundred cubits was the height of the rock over the head of the quarrymen.

No other aqueduct near the city can claim such antiquity as this, and the fact that it empties into a new pool, designed as a substitute for the Lower Pool, also favors identification with the conduit of King Hezekiah.

II Kings 18:17 speaks of Sennacherib's messengers to Hezekiah as standing by the conduit of the Upper Pool which is in the highway of the Fuller's Field. These messengers must have come near to the royal residence at Ophel. If they stood by the spring of Gihon, whence the tunnel led to the new Upper Pool, they would be beneath the walls of the royal residence. The "Fuller's Field" must have been a place where there was abundance of water, and this can only have been in the Kidron Valley. If En Rogel means "the Fuller's Fountain," then the Fuller's Field may have been situated in its vicinity, and the highway of the Fuller's Field may have been the road that leads down the Valley of Kidron from the southeast corner of the city.

In Isa. 22:9, 11, the prophet says: "Ye stopped the waters of the Lower Pool. Ye made also a reservoir between the two walls for the water of the Old Pool." This can be understood only of a blocking-up of the old water-course outside the city from Gihon to the Lower Pool of Siloam, and the bringing-down of the water through the Siloam tunnel to the new Upper Pool. The two walls between which this new pool lay were the western wall of the eastern hill and the new eastern wall of the western hill that, as we shall see presently, was built by Hezekiah. The name "between the two

walls" was used for the region at the lower end of the Tyropoeon Valley (cf. II Kings 25:4; Jer. 39:4; 52:7).

II Chron. 32:4 f. states that Hezekiah "stopped all the fountains and the brook that flowed through the midst of the land." II Chron. 32:30 states that Hezekiah "stopped up the upper outflow of the waters of Gihon and brought them straight down to the west side of the City of David." The word "outflow" (מוֹצָא) is the same that is used in the inscription. The "upper outflow" is the old channel on the surface of the ground outside of the east wall of the city. Gihon is the Virgin's Fountain, and the "west side of the City of David" is the west side of the eastern hill where the Siloam tunnel comes out. In the light of this evidence, there is no room for doubt that the Siloam tunnel is Hezekiah's conduit.

2. *Hezekiah's wall.*—In II Chron. 32:5 we read: "And he took courage and built up all the wall that was broken down, and raised it up to the towers, and the other wall without, and strengthened Millo in the City of David." This passage is not found in the parallel narrative of Kings, but it is not written in the characteristic language of the Chronicler and must have been derived from an ancient source. It is confirmed by Isa. 22:10 f.: "Ye saw the breaches of the City of David that they were many . . . . and ye numbered the houses of Jerusalem and ye brake down the houses to fortify the wall. Ye made also a reservoir between the two walls."

Two new walls are known to archaeologists, one on the north, the other on the south; one of these must have been the wall that Hezekiah built. The statement of Isa. 22:11, that the new Pool of Siloam lay "between the two walls," is good evidence that the wall of Hezekiah was the second wall on the south. That wall encircled the lower end of the western hill and ran up the west side of the Tyropoeon Valley opposite to the wall of the City of David. Before it was built it was impossible to speak of the Pool of Siloam as lying "between the two walls," and this phrase never occurs before the time of Hezekiah.

This wall was thrown down by Nebuchadrezzar at the time of his capture of Jerusalem; but it was not completely destroyed, and Nehemiah was able to trace its line when he made his inspection of the fortifications. In Neh. 2:12–15 Nehemiah follows the line of

this wall, setting out from the Valley Gate at the southwest corner of Solomon's city. He did not ride in a northeasterly direction toward the Temple, as would have been the case if he had followed Solomon's wall; but he rode toward the Dragon's Well, which is probably the same as En Rogel, the modern Bir Eiyub; that is, he rode straight down the Valley of Hinnom. He then came to the Dung Gate, which is not named in the old city wall, and must have stood near the southern end of the new south wall; then to the Fountain Gate, which must have been near to the Fountain of Siloam; then to the King's Pool, which is evidently Hezekiah's Upper Pool of Siloam; and then by the Brook—that is, the valley of the Kidron on the east side of the city.

The same course for the second wall is described by Neh. 3:13–15, where the wall is rebuilt from the Valley Gate to the Dung Gate, the Fountain Gate, the Pool of Siloam, the King's Garden, and the stairs of the City of David. In Neh. 12:31–37 the first company of Levites starts at the Valley Gate, and proceeds thence upon the wall to the Dung Gate, the Fountain Gate, and the stairs of the City of David. From these passages it is clear that Nehemiah's south wall began at the old Valley Gate in the southwest corner of the city, and ran thence around the lower end of the western hill until it joined the wall of the City of David at Siloam. This wall must have come into existence before the exile, since Nehemiah rebuilt on the ancient line. It is most probably to be identified with the "other wall without" which Hezekiah is said to have constructed.

This second wall on the south as rebuilt by Nehemiah lasted down to the destruction of the city by Titus in 70 A. D. It is described by Josephus in *Wars*, v, 4:2:

> But if we go the other way westward, beginning at the same place (i. e., Hippicus), it extended through a place called Bethso, to the gate of the Essenes: and after that on the south it made a curve past the fountain Siloam, after which it also bent again on the east at Solomon's pool, and reached as far as a certain place called Ophel where it joined the eastern cloister of the Temple. (Cf. *Wars*, V, 6:1.)

From Josephus, *Wars*, v, 9:4, it appears that the Pool of Siloam lay outside of this wall. This indicates that it did not cross the valley of the Tyropoeon from the southern end of the western to

the southern end of the eastern hill, but that it followed the cliff on the western side of the pools to a point above Siloam, and there crossed the valley to join the wall of the City of David. By the circumstance that both sides of the Tyropoeon Valley were walled, is explained the expression "between the two walls" that is used so frequently of the region round about Siloam (cf. Isa. 22:11; II Kings 25:4; Jer. 39:7; 52:7).[1]



Photograph by L. B. Paton

REMAINS OF SECOND WALL ON THE SOUTH

This outer wall on the south, as described by Nehemiah and Josephus, corresponds with the outer line of fortifications discovered by Dr. Frederick Bliss in 1894. Remains of this wall have been found extending all the way from the Protestant Cemetery to the south end of the west hill. A rock scarp that seems to have been the foundation for a wall may then be traced on the west side of the Pool of Siloam to a point above the Upper Pool. The lower courses

[1] See my article on "The Meaning of the Expression, 'Between the Two Walls,'" *Journal of Biblical Literature*, XXXV, 1906, Part I.

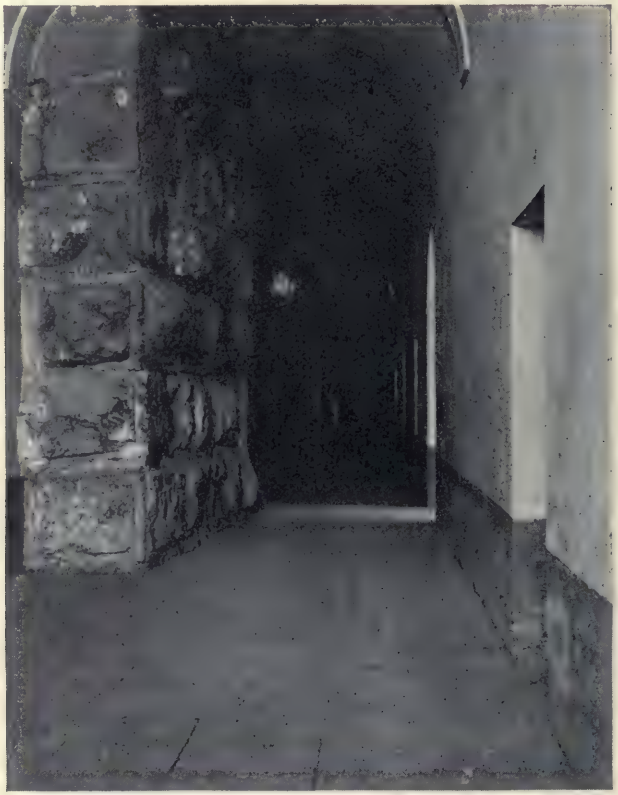
of masonry in this wall are ancient, and there is no difficulty in believing that they go back to the time of Nehemiah, or even earlier. Even if this wall should turn out to be a later construction, it must still have followed the line of the ancient fortification.

The piece of wall that Bliss discovered connecting the southern end of the western hill with the southern end of the eastern hill is of later origin. It was probably the work of the Empress Eudoxia, 450–60 A.D.

3. *Manasseh's wall.*—Hezekiah was succeeded by his son Manasseh, who reigned fifty-five years—the longest of all the reigns of the kings of Judah. At first he submitted to the authority of Assyria, but at the time of the great revolution of Shamashshumukin he joined the conspiracy, thus necessitating a refortification of Jerusalem. The Chronicler describes his building operations in II Chron. 33:14: "Now after this he built an outer wall to the City of David, on the west side of Gihon in the Brook and [he built] to the entering in at the Fish Gate; and he compassed about Ophel, and raised it up a very great height." The outer wall of the City of David must have been merely an additional rampart close to the old wall. The mention of the Fish Gate proves that the new wall built by Manasseh was the second wall on the north, inasmuch as the Fish Gate is known to have lain in this wall (cf. Neh. 3:3; 12:39). By this wall a new quarter was inclosed on the north of the city. The Mishneh, or "second quarter," mentioned in II Kings 22:14=II Chron. 34:22, and in Zeph. 1:10, as lying near the Fish Gate, is not named before the time of Manasseh. Manasseh and his successors are the first kings who are said to have been buried in Jerusalem, but not in the City of David, according to II Kings 21:18=II Chron. 33:20; II Kings 21:26; 23:30=II Chron. 35:24. This fact suggests that it was the erection of a new wall that made it possible for these tombs to be constructed within the city limits.

If the second wall on the north was not built by Manasseh, it must have been built by one of his immediate successors. Nehemiah's wall did not follow the line of Solomon's north wall, but a new line farther to the north. It was a restoration of the pre-exilic wall; consequently, the second wall on the north must have been built before the exile. In regard to the course of this wall Nehemiah,

unfortunately, gives no precise information. He mentions a number of gates and towers, but the location of these is so uncertain that they give us no help in laying down the line. Josephus' description of the second wall in *Wars*, v, 4:2, is as obscure as that of Nehemiah. It reads as follows:



Photograph by L. B. Paton

WALL UNDER FRANCISCAN SCHOOL

> The second wall took its beginning from that gate which they called Genath, which belonged to the first wall; it encompassed only the northern quarter of the city, and reached as far as the tower Antonia.

From this we learn merely that the second wall began at some point in the first wall, and that it circled around to the northwest corner of the Temple, but how far north it extended we are not told.

In lack of definite historical evidence, we are forced to turn to archaeology for the solution of the problem. Along the course of the present north wall numerous ancient remains have been discovered. Under the Grand New Hotel there is a line of huge Jewish stones running in a northwesterly direction. In the cellar of the Franciscan School, in the northwest corner of the city, a similar wall is to be seen. Along the entire course of the present north wall,



Palestine Exploration Fund

ANCIENT ARCH AT DAMASCUS GATE

as far as the Damascus Gate, traces of the same old wall have been discovered. At the Damascus Gate ancient drafted stones still appear, and the top of the ancient gate is still seen built into the foundations. There is good archaeological evidence, accordingly, that an old Jewish wall followed substantially the line of the present city wall from the Jaffa Gate to the Damascus Gate. The question then arises: Which wall was this? Was it the second wall on the north, as described by Nehemiah and Josephus; or was it the third wall, which was not built until the time of King Agrippa? This is one

of the fundamental problems of Jerusalem topography, and to it no final answer has yet been given.

Those who hold that the present north wall corresponds with the wall of Agrippa are forced to hold that the second wall lay within the present city limits between the north wall and the wall of Solomon. The objections to this view are numerous.

1. No certain remains of a second wall inside of the present north wall have ever been discovered. The line of cisterns south and east of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, which Schick[1] supposed to indicate an ancient city moat, is inadequate evidence. On the other hand, numerous traces of a third wall outside of the present city wall were observed by Robinson in 1838.[2] Great stones that may have belonged to this wall have been found from time to time in digging foundations for houses north of the city, and traces of its base are perhaps still to be seen in the north side of a cistern north of St. Stephen's church.[3] The archaeological evidence accordingly, so far as it goes, is more favorable to the view that the present north wall corresponds with the second wall, than that it corresponds with the third wall.

2. Josephus (*Wars*, v, 7:3) states that, after the capture of the third, or outer, wall,

> Titus moved his camp so as to be within at the place called the Camp of the Assyrians, occupying all the intervening space as far as the Kidron, but keeping a sufficient distance away from the second wall so as to be out of range of missiles.

This statement indicates that there was space enough between the third wall and the second for Titus' army to camp inside of the third, and still be out of reach of the stones and darts that the Jews hurled from their military engines on the second wall. No such space exists between the present wall and Schick's assumed second wall. The greatest distance between these is not more than 1,000 feet, and at many points they are not more than 500 feet apart. This argument bears with equal force against all other theories which locate the second wall inside of the Church of the Sepulcher. They

[1] *Zeitschrift der deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, 1885, Part 4.

[2] *Biblical Researches in Palestine*, Vol. I, pp. 465 ff.

[3] See my article on "The Third Wall of Jerusalem and Some Excavations on its Supposed Site," *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 1905, Part 2.

do not leave enough room between the second and the third wall to allow for the statements of Josephus.

3. In *Wars*, v, 4:3, Josephus states that the circumference of the city was 33 stadia. If the present wall is the third wall, the city cannot have measured more than 27 stadia, even if all the bends and projections of the towers are counted in.

4. The immense population that, according to Josephus, found shelter in the city at the time of the Passover points to a larger area



Photograph by L. B. Paton

GREAT STONES IN SIDE OF CISTERN

than that included by the present north wall. The calculation of Cestius from the number of paschal lambs (*Wars*, vi, 9:3) would give a population not far from 3,000,000 at the time of the feast. According to *Wars*, vi, 9:3, 1,100,000 perished at the time of Titus' siege.

5. *Ant.*, xx, 4:3, states that the outer wall was 3 stadia distant from the monument of Queen Helena. This monument is identified, with a high degree of probability, with the so-called Tombs of the Kings near the present residence of the Anglican bishop, but it is at least 4 stadia from the present city wall.

6. According to *Wars*, ii, 19:4, and v, 2:3, Titus pitched his camp on Scopus, 7 stadia distant from the city. Scopus is doubtless the high plateau north of Wâdy ej-Jôz, and it is considerably more than 7 stadia from the present north wall.

Those who identify the third wall with the present north wall are compelled to assert that in all these passages Josephus exaggerates the size of the city; but no reason for exaggeration appears, and the consistency of his statements with one another indicates rather that he has told the truth.

It appears, accordingly, that the weight of evidence is in favor of the view that the remains near the present north wall are to be identified with the ancient second north wall. This would probably never have been questioned but for the bearing of the discussion upon the genuineness of the traditional Holy Sepulcher. According to Matt. 27:32; Mark 15:20; John 19:17, 20, 41; Heb. 13:12, Christ was crucified and buried *outside* of the city wall—that is, outside of the second wall on the north, since Agrippa's wall had not yet been built. If the second wall be identified with the present north wall, then the Church of the Holy Sepulcher lies *inside* of the second wall, and cannot be the genuine site of the crucifixion and entombment. It is this fact which has led so many writers to struggle against the identification of the old second wall with the present north wall. All their efforts, however, have proved unavailing to produce valid archaeological evidence of the existence of an ancient wall inside of the Church of the Sepulcher. I assume, accordingly, that the north wall of Nehemiah, which I suppose to have been first erected by Manasseh, started at the old Corner Gate—that is, the modern Jaffa Gate; followed the line of wall under the Grand New Hotel; ran thence in a northwesterly direction parallel to the present city wall to the ruins known as Qalât-Jalûd, near the northwest corner of the city; and then followed the present line of the city wall as far as the Damascus Gate. Thence it ran probably over the high cliff east of the Damascus Gate, and thence in a southeasterly direction to the northeast corner of the Temple. The quarter north of the Temple known as Bezetha is distinctly stated by Josephus to have lain outside of the second wall (*Ant.*, xvii, 10:2; *Wars*, ii, 3:1; v, 4:2); consequently, that wall cannot have followed the course of the present city wall around the northeast corner of the city.

SOCIAL DUTIES

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CHAPTER VI. SOCIAL DUTIES IN RURAL COMMUNITIES

I. CHARACTERISTICS OF RURAL PROBLEMS

Most of the discussions familiar to readers of literature of social problems relate chiefly to the conditions of city life. The reasons for this fact are obvious. Authors and journalists generally reside in cities or large towns and they write about the experiences which immediately affect them. The more startling and sensational evils are revealed in cities; there poverty is most distressing, vice most hideous, crime most terrible, class struggles most fierce, the contrast of luxury and want most alarming and exasperating; there colossal fortunes tower above mean beggary, and monumental office buildings look down on crowded warrens of toilers and immigrants. The rapid growth of cities in recent times has thrust innumerable and vexatious problems of government and industry into our faces and brought men to a crisis where questions cannot be adjourned, where issues of life and death must be met by instant action. Therefore social problems are generally supposed to be only those of huge aggregations of population.

And even of late, since the improvement of conditions in the country has become the object of more general interest, the problems of rural society are not always worthily stated for consideration. This judgment is the result of an impression made by the reading of a very large number of volumes and documents issued by the great government departments of agriculture, by institutions of education, and by writers of high authority on rural subjects. We need, in further discussion of social duties under rural conditions, to give a larger and worthier place to the ultimate values of life in relation to agriculture.[1] The defect in much that has been written about social

[1] Here again, to avoid repetition, the reader is requested to keep in mind the analysis of social ends in the first chapter of this series.

life in the country is the relatively too great emphasis placed upon the wealth interest, on the industry of the farmer; he is treated too much as if he were merely a producer of certain commodities, merely a beast of burden like his patient oxen. It is too often assumed that the only scientific interest is in the larger production of corn, of milk and meat, of wool and cotton.

Therefore in studying the moral obligations of a rural neighborhood we must begin with the conception that the chief task of the farmer lies in the development of human personalities, in the cultivation of spiritual powers, in enriching the permanent self, and in sharing the highest goods of civilization on the widest possible scale. It is here assumed that the student has gained and holds this point of view, has already come to believe that a farmer has right to a full human life, to all that is essentially good, and that it is his duty to further this kind of life in the community. The worth and value of these ends being assumed for our purpose, we have here to consider some of those modes of conduct and those forms of institutional activity which are adapted to promote the accepted ends. This is the kind of conduct which alone can deserve the name of social morality. Exhaustive treatment is not here possible; the aim is limited to provoking investigation and indicating the way in which sound moral judgments can best be formed.

II. SOCIAL CONDITIONS OF RURAL WELFARE—ORDER, LIBERTY, AND OPPORTUNITY

1. ORDER.—It is too generally admitted to require proof, that civilization cannot move forward where life and property are insecure, where the strong-armed robber snatches away from the toiler the products of peaceful toil, where selfish and sensual men can gratify base appetites without restraint, where each man must go armed to his work and fortify his home. Obviously the first duty of a community is to establish and maintain order. And since the local hamlet or township or isolated neighborhood is often unable to guard its fields, houses, treasures, and merchandise, the commonwealth must come to its aid with superior force. In some civilized countries a body of mounted police, under the direction of the chief officers of the state, patrol roads and lanes, while detectives follow thieves and

other suspected persons and bring them to justice. Here let the student consider whether a rural police patrol would not make the life of farmers, especially of the women, more secure. What is the duty of the people of a state to the scattered persons who are kept in constant dread of vicious tramps and vagabonds, both white and black, who fill many rural homes with terror? When the police and courts fail to protect life and property, men are driven to resort to some form of lynch law, and this is wasteful and demoralizing. The class might well discuss this word of Professor Fairlie and test it by further inquiry into the facts:

> A long line of judicial decisions has clearly established the rule of law in this country, that locally appointed police officers are not, strictly speaking, local officers, but are agents of the state governments for the maintenance of the public peace and order. In spite of this legal theory, there has been developed no effective state administrative control in this important branch of local government. Some occasional and haphazard steps have been taken in many states but no systematic and permanent machinery has been established. . . . . Some supervision could be easily established by making the sheriffs more clearly responsible for police conditions in the local districts within their counties and requiring them to make regular reports to the governor or to some other state officer. To this might be added a regular inspection of the sheriffs in each state. . . . . Like the state supervision established in other lines, they would improve the work of local authorities. In a few states there have been established small bodies of state police for service throughout the state.

2. LIBERTY.—The maintenance of order should be discriminating or it will repress freedom. The soul of man must have room to think and his body room to act. An entire community sometimes becomes narrow, bigoted, selfish, blind, and in the name of order turns tyrant and puts out the light of science, chokes its best prophets. Only immoral and injurious citizens should walk in chains, and even they should be taught to use liberty wisely. We boast of being "the land of the free" because our fathers have fought the battle of religious, civil, and social freedom for us. No longer is a man imprisoned or burned for his opinions in politics or theology. Yet many are not aware that in this very home of liberty there are large districts where a young physician dare not speak or write what he has learned in schools of science without incurring a boycott of the church and consequent starvation, and where the teacher of biology in a high school is tempted to play the hypocrite to retain his chance to earn

his living. There are many ways by which pious men suffocate the life of the Holy Spirit in man, and think sincerely they are doing God service, and this condition is more frequently found in villages than in cities. An intellectually dead hamlet knows more ways of tormenting a man who is too big for it than the Inquisition of Spain ever devised. This does not stop discussion, but it forces young men and women of talent to fly from the country and take refuge in towns where they are free even if poor. Many of the most relentless persecutors in past ages have been conscientious and religious. Criminals disturb order, and saints sometimes are foes to liberty, and the majority of good folks seem to care more for quiet than for truth.

3. Opportunity.—It is the duty of a community not only to protect order and grant reasonable freedom but also to furnish opportunity for all citizens to enter into life. A boy may be free to go where he will, but if he is not educated he remains a dwarf and starveling. Let members of the class look about them and discover instances of children growing up mutilated in soul as they may be starved in body. There are entire townships where not one family has any incentive to do more than satisfy animal wants, although the soil is rich and the climate favorable. This is because they are cut off from centers of culture, as schools, churches, and means of information.

There must be equality of opportunity in respect to rights before the law, right to influence legislatures, to serve the public according to ability, to move about in public places, to enjoy sanitary conditions of living, to have means of recreation and culture, to send children to free schools, to be protected in relations of employer and employed, to be treated with courtesy, whether rich or poor, and to share in general good will.[2] In this connection may be studied the value of a state system of free public schools, under central direction and supervision; of federation and co-operation of churches in a state in order to prevent waste of means, and to provide educational facilities for all citizens; of the national postal system as a means of extension of means of knowledge; of means of transportation, electric lines and improved roads.[3]

[2] Giddings, *Elements of Sociology*, p. 328.

[3] Problems of government in rural townships are ably discussed by J. A. Fairlie, *Local Government in Counties, Towns and Villages.*

III. CARE OF PUBLIC HEALTH IN RURAL COMMUNITIES

1. CONDITIONS OF HEALTH.—These are generally more favorable in the country than in the city: the light may fall into every room, and at work sunshine plays over the body. The air is purer and exercise outside walls is part of the daily order of work. There is freedom from unnatural and perpetual excitement, noise, strain, close and superheated theaters, enticements to low vice, open saloons, and gambling-places.

But even in rural neighborhoods there is much preventable disease due to removable causes: improper food, neglect of ventilation, exposure to contagious and infectious disease, pollution of water and milk, injection of fever germs by insects, drains from kitchen reeking with poison. And there are causes of sickness which are only in part under human control: the hardship of labor especially at certain seasons, exposure to severe weather and extremes of temperature, worry incident to uncertainty of crops, the destruction of growing crops and cattle by the enemies of the farmer. To this one must add distance from physicians in emergencies, the want of nursing, and occasionally the improper physical habits of ignorance and the vices of human nature.

2. AMELIORATING METHODS.—These may be found, and it is the duty of each community to discover and adopt such methods as experience approves. Illustrations may give hints to spur members of the class to further inquiry.

a) In the best schools instruction is given to children in relation to the structure and functions of the human body, anatomy, physiology, hygiene, house sanitation, cooking, foods, and first aid to the sick and injured.

b) But the instruction of childhood is not enough, and young people need to continue their studies by means of lectures, classes, and books carefully chosen by experts and not recommended by traveling peddlers. In several states the meetings of farmers' institutes, under the direction of experts in state agricultural colleges and with the aid of competent physicians, have done a valuable service. The talk and practice of the farm necessarily touch upon laws of health of animals, and occasionally greater care is given to domestic animals than to the family itself.

c) A significant movement is that to secure better hospital facilities and nursing in the country. In at least the chief county town there ought to be a public hospital for the treatment of medical and surgical cases which cannot so well be treated at home. These local hospitals also become training schools for nurses, the supply of whom is woefully scant in many parts of the land. It seems entirely possible to provide visiting nurses who may go from house to house showing mothers and daughters how to care for their sick, to make beds, prepare special diet, dress sores and wounds, feed infants, and a thousand things for which a physician has no time and which only a carefully trained nurse knows how to do. In cities such nurses are sent by benevolent societies among the poor with great advantage. The only difficulty is that too many people are so ignorant of modern nursing that they imagine there is nothing to learn, and in that state of mind nothing is learned. Telephones and trolley lines are gradually improving medical service outside the towns.

d) There is more and more need of extending the authority and activity of the state boards of health into every township of each state. There ought to be a systematic supervision of the conditions of health and the causes of disease by some central authority, so that not one district can be overlooked. Examples of what may be accomplished may be cited: the notification of contagious diseases, as scarlet fever, diphtheria, measles, etc., by placarding and prohibition of sending to school without medical permission. The disinfection of houses and clothing ought to be insured by vigilant officials responsible to the state. The means of transportation, now becoming more public, should be brought under systematic control. Vaccination must be made certain and not left to the whims and superstitions of the ignorant. Careful supervision of persons afflicted with tuberculosis should be part of the duty of local officers responsible to the state. It is important that dairies should be inspected and made sanitary not only in the interest of town customers but even more in the interest of dairymen and farmers. The bacteria which kill customers are not apt to spare the owners of a filthy stable. If the water used to wash the milk vessels or to dilute the milk for weak city stomachs is from a foul source it may punish the culprit who carelessly and wickedly uses it to wrong another. In the inspection of

adulterated foods and medicines kept for sale to farmers it is not difficult to discover the advantage to the farmer.

Perhaps it may be to the immediate financial advantage of farmers to send young calves to market before they are fit for human food, or even to ship diseased chickens, hogs, and cattle; but no community can long tolerate such dishonesty and injurious conduct without inward debasement of character. And since local and personal agents cannot be trusted, every man who sincerely desires to promote morality should endeavor to secure complete state supervision and control of all food materials. In the long run no community can secure the best prices in the market if it once gains a reputation for indifference to the health of customers, if it becomes known for its dishonesty and recklessness of health and life. If its evil ways are due more to ignorance than to meanness, then a community should import experts competent to show what is right and wrong in the occupation which affects the physical welfare of the nation and its credit in foreign markets.

REFERENCES

I. P. Roberts, *The Farmstead*, chaps. vi, x, xii, xiv.
H. B. Bashore, M. D., *The Sanitation of a Country House*.
Also books on hygiene already mentioned.

IV. DUTIES OF RURAL COMMUNITIES IN RELATION TO INDUSTRY AND WEALTH

1. DECISIVE FACTORS IN THE SITUATION.—To discover moral obligations men must not merely inspect their inner selves, but the real facts outside; must study not merely ancient wisdom but the stern teachings of present experience. What are some of the facts which determine the direction of activity in farming regions? Only a brief hint here is possible.

a) The population of the nation depends on agriculture and its product—farmers, urban dwellers, merchants, professional persons—all. The primary industry, basis of all other social life, is that of farming. If the rural population went on a general and sympathetic strike for one season, famine would stalk in the cities. Assuming that life is good, and to support existence a primal duty, we have the foundation of obligation in this situation.

b) Agriculture rests most obviouslv on nature's gifts, or, speaking with the religious accent, on the direct gift of God. The soil, climate, and seasons fix the limits of possible production in a nation. But as this is a matter which man cannot control we may more profitably turn to facts which rest on human conduct and for which men are responsible.

c) We have seen above that health is a duty and here we come to the connection between production of good things and the vital energy which springs from health. A strong, well-fed, clean, sober people can and will do more to feed and clothe the nation, and make family, school, church, and government prosperous, than a feeble and sickly folk.

The social conditions of production are security of person and property, freedom to move and act, and opportunity to make the most of our powers. The intelligence of the rural population is a national asset, and especially that kind of intelligence which is concerned with the sciences and arts which quicken thought, train observation, and prepare the tiller of the soil to make it yield the largest possible product.

The life of the nation depends on the industry of those who occupy the tillable land. He who knows and yet stands idle will forget where he hid his talent in a napkin. Disposition to work steadily must be a social trait, common as hunger, or again famine snarls at the door. We might as well dwell on Sahara sands as on fertile prairies, if the people are loafers. Fortunately for idlers, most men are willing to toil. Industry is not merely a habit which benefits the worker; it has a social aspect and thus becomes moral.

2. Value of Natural and Social Science.—At this stage of our study we come in sight of the vast field of natural science and of the social sciences. No men are so dependent for their best success and usefulness on a wide range of knowledge as farmers, unless it is editors. To take only a few illustrations: successful discharge of duty on the farm depends on knowledge of the elements of soil on which plants are nourished, and this means chemistry. Stock raisers deal with various kinds of animals and must learn about selection of stock, nutrition, health and disease, heredity and habit; and this means biology, botany, physiology, hygiene. The making

of roads, ditches, bridges, dikes, buildings, involves laws of physics. Even to make a catalogue of the kinds of knowledge a farmer needs would require a pamphlet.

It follows as day follows night, that it is the duty of a rural community to educate itself, and as the soil wears out with bearing crops to make modern science perform for us the miracle of rendering worn-out soil more productive than virgin soil. The great Lincoln saw this need, and in the throes of war moved to establish agricultural colleges whose growth has been a blessing to mankind. Under the next head we shall attend to the agencies of education in rural communities.

REFERENCES

L. H. Bailey, *Cyclopedia of American Agriculture*, 4 vols. This work treats agricultural regions, organization of farms, environment of the life of animals and of men, crops, animals, and the social aspects and human interests of farmers.

F. W. Woll, *Handbook for Farmers and Dairymen*, gives numerous references to the rich literature of the agricultural professions.

H. C. Taylor, *Agricultural Economics*, gives the economic principles of agricultural industry and trading.

G. T. Fairchild, *Rural Wealth and Welfare.*

L. H. Bailey, *The Principles of Agriculture.*

The sociological literature is meager.

IV. DUTIES OF A RURAL COMMUNITY IN RELATION TO SPIRITUAL CULTURE

We have spoken of agriculture and now we must give heed to the greater matter of human culture, which is after all the ultimate form of all culture. Man makes himself better by improving the earth if he uses science as means and morality as way.

1. EDUCATION IN THE FAMILY.—Here we may refer to those works on education which treat of the development of young children. We may note the fact that in the country family life has a relatively larger place in education than in the city where other influences play upon the child very early. In the country home parents have their children much to themselves without external distractions, and children soon begin to imitate and assist in the serious occupations of their elders. No city child has such a chance through infancy and early life to come into contact with nature in all her moods and aspects.

All crafts are plied in simple form, domestic animals are about the home, plants are the constant subject of conversation, birds sing in the trees, flowers blossom everywhere, and the muscles of the body are called into exercise without artificial apparatus. But to make the best use of these fine advantages the community must furnish to parents instruction in the principles of education, so that each father and each mother may become an efficient teacher.

2. The Rural School.—The problem of the kind of school that a rural community needs has received of late the attention its importance deserves. One of the most attractive and inspiring books thus affirms the ideal of a practical organizer of better methods:

> If I were to formulate an educational creed for the country school, it would contain but two articles, namely: (1) the country child is entitled to every whit as good an educational opportunity as that enjoyed by the most favored city child attending the American public school; (2) to secure this right for the country child the country people must expend more money on the country school and expend it in a better way.

Only a few points can be suggested for study: The rural school should furnish careful and modern guidance in the care of health; it should, as all admit, teach thoroughly the arts of reading, writing, and keeping accounts, and so give the key to all treasures of knowledge; it should open the eyes of the children to the myriads of interesting and beautiful objects which surround them; it should lead them to become interested in the arts of agriculture; it should awaken their artistic interest and enable them to express that interest in drawing and sometimes in color; it should give them a taste for literature and enable them to live a life of solitude without weariness and with the ability to deepen life by study and thought; it should prepare them to defend their rights and perform their duties as citizens of a republic and give them a large and just notion of duties in relation to international affairs. The school should be a center of the best influences of culture not only for children but for all.

In order that the rural school may perform its high task it should be large enough to bring together enough children and youth to make school life enthusiastic and interesting to pupils and teachers, and to warrant the expenditure of sufficient money to secure good teachers. Small schools should be united in larger schools and the children

who are too far from the school to walk should be carried in vehicles provided as a necessary part of the school system.

It would hasten this movement for the improvement of the schools if the central school authorities of the commonwealth were required by law to give more thorough supervision and direction especially to schools in backward districts, and furnished with the necessary means.

REFERENCES

The book of Mr. O. J. Kern, "Among Country Schools," is itself a charming treatment of this subject, and on pages 302–8 it gives a long list of books and magazine articles which need not be repeated in this place, since Mr. Kern's book is indispensable for anyone who seriously wishes to study the matter.

3. The Rural Church.—The duty of a rural community to its church is fixed by the nature of the work of the church. Religion is a universal need; communion with God is the heart of culture. The ideals of religion are the inspiration of science and the essence of morality. Life is not fully human without prayer and faith. Sin needs rebuke, righteousness must be enforced and interpreted in terms of daily tasks, and for all this every community needs the church.

But a church cannot perform its task unless it has ministers who are intelligent, sufficiently educated, spiritual, devoted to their work, and who give themselves earnestly and constantly to this one thing.

The chief enemy of religion in the country is the division of forces. Each denomination feels required to keep a minister of its own kind in each locality; and the result is that salaries are small; the minister is starved physically and the people are starved spiritually. We have touched upon the wisdom of consolidating country schools so that the teachers may be properly supported and suitable buildings and appliances be furnished; now we need to consolidate rural churches to avoid the deplorable and sinful waste which makes religious enterprises languish until the church itself brings religion into contempt. Improved country schools are making it impossible for the church to employ untrained and incompetent ministers; the young people simply will not listen to untaught preachers. Old people may go to sleep if the sermon is dull and meaningless, but young high-school pupils will slip away.

VI. FEDERATION OF FORCES

All social interests are woven together; a community whose income is small cannot carry out common enterprises, provide good schools and churches, support teachers and ministers, and rise in civilization. The most vigorous and ambitious youth will take their chances in the large towns and cities and life will become stagnant. Hence it is desirable to bring together the members of the community who have some desire to improve conditions of industry, health, and culture. The ministers, lawyers, physicians, teachers and county superintendents, county officers, and farmers of light and leading may well form a federation of farmers' institutes, churches, schools, county fairs, literary clubs, and make studies of the entire field of health, industry, rural arts, domestic science, legal rights and duties, moral education, literary inspiration, reading, and spiritual life. Such federations are forming under various names in various parts of the country. An annual meeting may be held at which addresses are given by men and women who have studied the needs of rural conditions on the ground and have constructive suggestions for improvement to make. Grumblers dissipate energy. No person should be invited to speak more than five minutes who is not known to have a practical plan for betterment.

TOPICS FOR FURTHER DISCUSSION

Suggestions for study of local conditions are furnished by the titles of each paragraph in this chapter; but others will grow out of these, out of reading the books recommended and out of conferences of the programme committee of the class.

REFERENCES

In addition to books and articles mentioned in connection with preceding paragraphs we may refer to the two papers on the "Rural Community," by Weber and Butterfield, in the *Report of the Congress of Arts and Science*, Vol. VII.

THE CHILD-MIND AND CHILD-RELIGION

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III. THE METHOD OF EVOLUTION OF CONSCIOUSNESS AND OF RELIGION

The preceding articles have contained, by implication, evidence of two errors in the conventional interpretation, by mature persons, of the nature of child-consciousness. One of these errors is that of an unreflecting pedagogy that has carelessly assumed that children are like adults and may thrive on the mental and spiritual diet of their elders. On the other hand, psychology has made exactly the opposite mistake of assuming contrasts where none exist between child-nature and mature minds. Before the advent of developmental or comparative or genetic psychology, it was falsely supposed, although the groundwork for a better conception was laid by Descartes and Locke, that the "faculties" of the adult are somehow *given* facts of nature existing *sui generis*, and that somehow the growing baby comes into possession of them as he reaches the years of understanding. Such a conception can no longer hold its ground. Following the work of the group of men represented by Darwin, Romanes, Haeckel, Loeb, Ribot, James, and Baldwin, it is impossible to find a careful student of the mental life who does not proceed upon the assumption of the unity of the child and adult mind. There are no real leaps or slips or breaks in consciousness, but only occasional apparent ones, in passing from prenatal babyhood on through the stages of later life. The epochs form an entire continuum. The prevailing view is that the process is one of spontaneous unfolding, from within, of the resident qualities in child-consciousness. The problem is no longer concerned with the *fact* of such an evolution, but only to describe accurately its method. The article just preceding attempted to set forth some of the "root-principles" of consciousness—voluntary control, sense of self, adaptation of means to ends, discrimination, memory, association, judgment—many of which, by a faulty analysis,

have been attributed only to mature consciousness. In what follows, we shall assume the entire continuity in the mental life of individuals.

A second assumption, without which the following discussion will be more or less meaningless, is the truism, now universally accepted by students, of the continuity between human and other animal consciousness. The evolutionary doctrine now makes it clear that the life of all the species, including man, constitutes a unity. The kinship is shown unmistakably in the likeness in bodily structure and function and in similarities in mental traits. Perception, memory, association, volition, discrimination, and the adaptation of means to ends are common to all. There are almost no instinctive traits, such as fear, anger, love, self-regard, imitativeness, playfulness, gregariousness, and the like, that are not found also in child-nature. This wide and deep kinship between man and other animals is unconsciously recognized in the warm attachment of men to animals, and it is not to be wondered at that the sense of oneness and fellowship has blossomed into clear consciousness in great minds and hearts, as when St. Francis of Assizi called the animals his brothers, and when Christ seemed to possess such a tender feeling toward all living things. This unity is shown most certainly, perhaps, by embryology; for during prenatal life the common characteristics of the human and other species are evident in an exaggerated form. The study of embryonic life has demonstrated the further significant principle that each individual passes through, in succession, approximately all the stages of animal life that have preceded it. Each person at his inception is a single-celled organism like an amoeba; later, he has a tubular nervous system and rudimentary urinal glands connecting with the skin like the worm; after many transformations he possesses a notochord similar to that of the sturgeon and amphioxus; he imitates the life of the water-breathing animals by having gill-slits and other corresponding parts; shows his oneness with the other mammalia by having four feet and an elongated caudal appendage. Each person travels first the great highway of race development and finally specializes, as does each animal, into his own particular sideroad toward his own species, and then along the ever-diverging by-paths that take him in the direction of his own subdivision of the human race, then to his own nation, family, and immediate parentage. The study of the

mental life of children and the epochs through which they pass is doing its part also in making indubitable the law that the individual recapitulates in itself the history of the race. This simple truth has shown in a wonderful way how the life of each is bound up in the world-life. It is no longer left simply to a feat of the imagination or to blind faith to see that God is the life of the world and to appreciate the oneness that exists between his immanent self and the life of the individual. To summon mankind into a vitalizing sense of the kinship of its profounder life and this universal life seems to be the central message of religions everywhere. The price of individuality, whether in the case of a leaf of a tree, the body of a fish, or the soul-life of a man, is possible separation. Human life, the most complex of all the types, has a thousand by-paths into which it may wander and lose its connection with the whole. Manifold streams of race tendency, like so many well springs, pour into each human life, each of which in turn may overwhelm him. His surroundings are infinitely diverse and may arouse impulses and desires that destroy the inner harmony until it is no longer a true reflection of the absolute of which it is a part. It is the function of religion to preserve the unity of the personal life at the point at which its wholeness is threatened, to insure the harmony that should exist between the individual and the universal life, and to restore such a harmony when once it has been lost.

There is still a third assumption underlying the following discussion that may well be kept in view: religion is an integral part of the developing life of mankind. It is not a superimposed something. It is native to consciousness. It is a phase of life in process of evolution. The devotee may continue to regard it as a revelation of divine truth to man. But it is also a self-revelation of consciousness to itself, just as the will is first unconscious volitional attitude and then shows itself as conscious choice; and as all states and processes are originally subliminal and gradually emerge, or often burst, into the focal points of clear consciousness. Religion may be described in terms of the feeling of relation existing between the individual and absolute (the psychological theological problem) or in terms of the setting of the spiritual life among the various mental processes, such as intellect, feeling, and will (the structural psychological problems) or in terms of the nature of religion as a sense of the harmonious or

inharmonious relationship existing among the various elements of consciousness in so far as this sense affects the highest, permanent, spiritual well-being of the individual and of the social group (the functional or genetic psychological problem).

Our inquiry will naturally adopt the genetic point of view. Its problem is to trace out some points in the natural history of the mental life and of the religious consciousness. Starting with the stock of instinct feelings and instinct reactions common to animals and children (since these are the elements of consciousness most easily traceable), what is the method by which these are transformed toward the attainment of the highest spirituality? We shall have to trace some of the primal instincts and see how each becomes an ingredient in mature life. To detect accurately these strains is difficult and often impossible. There are so many complications and refinements that the original factors sometimes lose their identity, and are misinterpreted, just as an unpracticed observer may not see the relation between the materials that go into a modern refinery or factory and the finished products that come from it. It will be possible to proceed with greater certainty if it can be done in the light of some of the principles in accordance with which the process takes place. There are at least four such principles that are more or less clear and unmistakable.

1. The primitive instinct tendencies become refined by being carried up onto higher levels of consciousness. What these levels consist in is best seen in terms of the analogy of the structure of the nervous system. It was a most helpful truth, first enunciated by Hughlings Jackson,[1] that the nervous system is a stratified organism. The first stratum or level in the order of development is the spinal cord and medulla, which are the seat of organic reactions and reflex movements. This is completed before birth in the human species, and is the center of the personality of the infant. The second stratum is the mechanism of sensory response at the base of the brain and the sensory centers in the cerebrum. The center of gravity of the child's consciousness during the early years of its life is in this level, as shown

[1] *British Medical Journal*, 1898, p 65. For a full account of Jackson's views, see his "Croonian Lectures," published in the *British Medical Journal*, 1884. Cf. also his remarks on Dr. Mercier's paper on "Inhibition," in *Brain*, XI, 361.

by its absorption in things that appeal to its motor and sensory experience. The third level consists in higher centers of cerebral co-ordination, with their millions of nerve elements, by means of which the elements of experience are brought into new and varied combinations. This is the seat of the life of thinking, feeling, and willing, and under normal conditions the self should shift its center of gravity into this level by the time it reaches maturity. As will be evident in a later article, the normal period for this latter translation of the center of the self is during early adolescence. Each level is a direct outgrowth of the last, and blossoms out of it as new structures are needed to answer the demands of a widening life in its response to a complicated environment. This view of Hughlings Jackson, considerably distorted from its original statement, I admit, though like the above account in spirit, furnishes basis for a true account of the development of instinct in one of its aspects. Each instinct is carried up, in both individual and race development, progressively from lower toward higher planes of expression, and constitutes a strain in the evolved intellectual, volitional and aesthetic life. Ribot has named this particular mode of development transition by "complete evolution."[2] The instinct keeps its original character but is transformed from a relatively simple to a very complex psychosis. According to Ribot the evolution consists in intellectualizing the primary instinct. It seems, however, that the primary reactions are as much emotionalized and voluntarized as intellectualized during the process, and that the change consists in a "complication of the native reactions" as James[3] calls it. Each function ramifies into great complexity, as does a tree or any growing thing. An example of complete evolution, or complication, is the instinct of hunger. The organism seeks to take over into itself and assimilate as much of the world as it can. First it is hunger simply for food for the body. As soon as the senses are differentiated as special organs of adjustment, they are also hungry for that which will stimulate and nourish—are hungry for experiences. The healthy child seeks to devour all the sensory experiences it can. Sights, sounds, tastes, smells, muscle and touch experiences, are the

[2] Ribot, *The Psychology of the Emotions*, p. 262.

[3] See James's delightful discussion of this principle in his *Talks to Teachers*, chaps. vi, vii, viii.

things it craves and by which it grows. The instinct of curiosity seems to be an offshoot from this organic hunger as a means of leading the animal into new experiences. Mentality is a still higher instrument of adjustment. A healthy mind also craves nourishment, and it is probably no accident of speech by which the desire is called a hunger for truth. When this craving involves the highest abstractions of consciousness and seeks after the highest objects of fulfilment concerning the existence of which the mind has many an inkling but no clear knowledge, it is a hungering and thirsting after righteousness, a characterization so accurate that it can hardly be called a figure of speech.

Any and all of the instincts would illustrate the principle of direct evolution. Fear is first a shrinking from anything that threatens the well-being of the bodily self. Later it consists in a dread of evil consequences of certain kinds of conduct to one's moral or social welfare. It ripens into a recoil from that which will despoil one's highest sense of beauty or truth and into a fear of God which is the beginning of wisdom. Love is primarily a sense of rapport with parents, offspring, mates, and whatever objects are near and dear. It follows the widening circle of relationships, love for friends, relatives, clan, country, until it bursts into a complete heart attitude and includes humanity and even one's enemies. With the growth of abstraction which makes possible the sentiments and ideals, it becomes a love of truth, goodness, and beauty. The obsession of the poet and artist and the mystic rapture of the saint are among its fruits.[4] The love of a child for its brother whom it has seen, and for its dolls, pets, and other objects of affection is its schooling toward the love of God whom it has not seen.

[4] The most voluminous presentation of the evolution of love is in G. Stanley Hall's volume, *Adolescence*, chaps. x, xi, xii. Dr. Hall regards the higher life of man as an irradiation of love, and affirms that the source of the love impulse is the sex instinct. His theory is true in what it affirms. It fails to recognize, however, that religion, aesthetics, and morality are an irradiation of *all* the instincts, and that sex is no more prominent in the final compounding of developed product than are some of the others. For a criticism of the point of view see James, *Varieties of Religious Experience*, pp. 10–12, and my volume, *The Psychology of Religion*, pp. 207, 401–407. From the following discussion it will be evident that Dr. Hall has made too simple a story out of a complicated plot by taking into account only one out of the several principles according to which the instincts develop.

An instructive instance of direct evolution is that of self-regard. The instinct of self-preservation, which has been called the first law of life, constitutes the central stream of animal and child-consciousness. Teeth, horns, and tusks, anger, hatred, and jealousy and all the means of attack and defense are its signs. Among adults, policemen, courts, armies, battleships, jails, arbitration tribunals, and locks and keys, are monuments to the strength of the impulse. Although so insistent a fact of life as to be habitually branded as a vice, if self-regard seeks for itself some more roundabout mode of expression and so looks less simple, and crass, it may be condoned or even admired. A man who would not steal will sometimes consent to amass wealth by lively business tactics, even to the length of driving his competitors to the wall, and public sentiment may even praise his shrewdness, while it punishes as a criminal him who loots or browbeats his neighbor. So do men use bits of philanthropy to gain a business advantage, resort to "pulls" to gain political prestige, seek social preferment to the disadvantage of others, and the act is not severely condemned. A still farther step in the refinement makes of self-seeking a virtue. Hedonism in ethics, that sets up the highest pleasures and good as ends of life, finds great-souled spokesmen and adherents in every age. It has been and is stoutly preached by divines like Paley, Warburton, and Van Dyke, as a legitimate religious motive. The songs people sing and the prayers they utter betray a longing for health, peace, success, contentment, and temporal and eternal well-being. Christianity and Mohammedanism have popularly pictured as an incentive to the higher life a heaven of happiness, elegance, and luxury, fit for an irresponsible king. The impulse of self-regard is not to be despised. Among children and untutored persons it must be one of the chief springs of action. In cultivated natures it furnishes also, in a refined form, a legitimate strain. It is an evil when excessively simple and unrefined, or when it exists at the expense of other impulses, or uses them in an unwarranted way to further its ends. In its developed form it is an ingredient in the highest spirituality as, for instance, when in the golden rule and in the second commandment, it is made the measure of love.

2. The character of the primary instincts is somewhat transformed by repression and inhibition. When held back from their habitual

mode of immediate expression, they become tempered and softened, until, to superficial observation, they present the appearance of separate reactions from the original form. This has been designated by Ribot as the principle of the "arrest of development."[5] Grief, through repression, becomes sorrow; and this, by further refinement, enters into the complex emotion, resignation. The method of repression, by which the instincts are softened, seems to be twofold: inhibition by other instincts and changes in the environment by which the original direct expression would be harmful. The softening of pain into grief and of grief into resignation is an illustration of the first method, the original expression having been checked by a feeling of pride and a developing aesthetic sense. An illustration of the other method is found in the conversion of sexual love into higher forms. As the changes in modes of life from individualistic customs to more compact social groups have rendered the immediate expression harmful, the repressed impulse has, like a sprouting plant temporarily shut back from its direct course by a clod or other obstruction, shot up its tendrils wherever it could in the form of modesty, courtship, the aesthetics of the love passion, and in the various kinds of endearment.[6] In its higher forms by further repression these constitute an element in mystic and platonic love.

Many other illustrations of such transformation will occur to the mind of the reader. Pleasures of a spectacular sensuous kind pass over into joys and these into ecstatic contemplation. Anger repressed shows itself as hatred and this, when it can no longer express itself with taste and propriety, passes into the haughty look, the sneer, contempt, or resentment, and by a further step becomes indignation, and, if the object seems worthy a total reaction of opposition, it becomes "righteous indignation." There are many instinctive traits whose existence appears almost solely for the sake of insuring such arrests of primary reactions. Among these are coyness, modesty, the forms of propriety, taciturnity, stubbornness and pouting, and pleasures in secrecy and solitude. They are nature's instruments for refining life. Her method is similar to that of the gardener, who, by smothering or by pruning, is able to improve the quality of flowers or fruit. The

[5] Ribot, *op. cit.*, pp. 264–67.

[6] See Ribot, *op. cit.*, pp. 248 ff.

chief problem in the spiritual culture of children is to interpret the meaning of the various native endowments and be nature's helper in carrying out her purposes.

3. A third principle according to which the primary endowments evolve is that of substitution.[7] Life is essentially dynamic; and the amount of available energy, aside from variations in health and nutrition, is practically a constant quantity. Like spending-money, if more of it is used up in one direction there is less available in another. If a desirable instinct can be stimulated in excess, the chances are it detracts from the exercise of another less desirable one. The gamester has no energy left with which to appreciate works of art nor has the child who is fully occupied with social responsiveness or with happy occupation of an innocent kind any capacity for the mean and low. There is also the same equivalence in the child's interests, which are the criteria of spontaneous vitality, as in its stock of energy. The mind cannot be a vacuum. Those interests that first possess it may hang up their sign of preoccupation and none others need apply for space. An idle brain, the nearest approach possible to vacancy, cannot remain so long; for old race-grown impulses, overinsistent and out of tune with the present, will use it for their workshop. Wisdom on the part of parent or teacher is measured by their power of driving out lower impulses with higher ones. Even little children often master the principle when they gain possession of much-desired toys from other children by extolling the real or imaginary value of some other toy. It is impossible wilfully to uproot an impulse or desire. It is relatively easy to cast out the evil with the good. A healthy nature of a child instinctively resents the arbitrary prohibition of his ill-temper and combativeness, and may even defend his position by appealing to pride in his ability to take his own part and his knight-errantry in redressing his wrongs; but if led indirectly to appreciate the heroism of self-control and to take pride in his superiority to trifling situations, the blemish will fall away of its own accord. The expulsive power of a new affection is proverbial. The application of the principle of substitution, being a positive and not a negative procedure, should make the cultivation of spirituality a natural process at many a point at which it is now a twisting and tearing and uprooting proced-

[7] See James, *Talks to Teachers*, pp. 39–43.

ure. The highways are numerous in child-nature that lead in the direction of the highest spirituality.

4. The instincts change their appearance in the course of their development also by a process of admixture or composition.[8] Few of them, indeed, exist singly. The higher mental states are usually points of combination of two or several simple instincts, first refined and then blended. Melancholy is a sweet sadness that Ribot calls the "luxury of grief." Remove either the pleasure or the sadness and the melancholy disappears. Jealousy is not a primary emotion, but seems to be compounded from a sense of self, an instinct of possession, a feeling of attachment, fear lest the object of affection should escape, and anger or resentment. Love may be the refinement of the attachments that spring up in the social group, as when ants and other asexual types show signs of complete devotion to one another, or it may have its source in the reproductive instinct as this has widened through mating and the family, according to the partial description of Drummond in *The Ascent of Man.* In its purest form it appears to be a perfect blending of the two streams plus an aesthetic sense that has arisen as much from contact with nature in its varying presentations of color, form, and relation as from either of these two sources. It has also an admixture of a self-feeling as shown by the fact that love, even in its highest reaches, is never wholly disinterested. Each of the two main streams in the final combination is itself an admixture. Spencer has, perhaps, analyzed, more or less accurately, sexual love into several different ingredients[9]. The principle of the compounding of the primary and derived instincts has an interesting bearing upon the matter of the estimation of character. As instinct reactions become transformed into motives and desires they form a rich complex. The doer of a deed is likely to credit himself with generosity as a motive, and it may be with justice. Another person may name the motive fear or sympathy or compassion and perhaps rightly. At a diverse angle another may claim, with equal accuracy, that it was actuated by self-interest. The most perfect deed may spring from many motives, as white light is composed of a bundle of colors.

We are now in a position to see that the religious impulse, while

[8] Ribot, *op. cit.*, pp. 267–73.

[9] Spencer, *Principles of Psychology*, par. 215.

given a single name, as if it were a simple pulse of consciousness, is a compound. It contains fear: a shrinking at the thought of reaping the consequences of doing violence to the eternal and inviolable laws of the universe. One of its ingredients is love: a sense of rapport and heart kinship with those things that have highest worth. It draws from sociality: a longing for companionship with an absolute, spiritual, personal reality. It receives a strain from curiosity: a desire to feel its way into the mysteries of life and of eternity. It is fed by self-regard: a wish to be saved, and not to be left behind as a scattered fragment in a universe in which all the parts seem to be conserved into unity. It is a hungering and thirsting of the soul to assimilate the truth that lies behind the piecemeal bits of reality that are offered by sense and reason. It is the struggle for existence and the will to live, as these have ripened into an aspiration toward the perfect life. It is the play impulse, as this has blossomed out into spontaneous acts of worship and exultation of spirit. It is perhaps many things besides. In a later article we shall see that religion has sprung up, in part, as a means of insuring the healthy development of the various components of consciousness and of preserving a harmonious relationship among them.

The point of value so far is to appreciate that religion is not a simple fact that is to be administered in set doses to children but that both religion and the child are complex facts that have definite laws of development. The task of those who would direct the spiritual culture of children is to be workers together with nature, through trying to understand what the processes are that are taking place in the growth of children and also in the development of religion.

THE MEN WHO MADE ISRAEL

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JOSHUA AND THE PROMISED LAND

35. Israel now stood on the borders of the Promised Land. The handful of tribes that had come out of Egypt had grown into a strong people. Clans, like the Kenites under the headship of Caleb, had joined the original body and the years of sojourn in the desert under Moses' training had produced out of these loose units a fairly well-organized confederacy united by its human leader in the worship of a common God and the hope of winning seats for settlement in the fairer regions of the west. Thither the memories of the past and the presence of their brethren invited them to advance.

36. The land of Canaan or Palestine is an irregular rectangle lying between the Mediterranean Sea and the Arabian Desert and stretching north and south from the Lebanon Mountains to the Southern Desert. Its length is about two hundred miles and its greatest width about one hundred miles. It is made up of a series of four parallel belts or sections running the whole length from north to south. The first and most western belt is the sea-coast which begins in the north where Mount Carmel looks out into the sea and leaves a strip of shore two hundred yards wide. It spreads out at the south into a broad plain rising in low hills to the mountains on the east. The second is the mountain ridge or plateau beginning with the Lebanons in the north and letting itself down to the desert on the south. It consists for the most part of a high plateau surrounded or cut through by hills. Its average height is more than two thousand feet and its breadth from fifteen to twenty miles. Right across the middle it is broken into two parts by a valley running from east to west, the plain of Esdraelon, which forms a passage way through it from the coast to the Jordan river. On the west the mountain feature sinks to the plain by a series of parallel foothills, but on the east it falls abruptly into a chasm which makes the third belt. This

is the valley of the Jordan river. The river rises at the foot of Mount Hermon at a point nearly five hundred feet above sea-level. It falls very rapidly through a distance of one hundred and twenty miles and empties into the Dead Sea, the lowest depth of which is about two thousand six hundred feet below the level of the Mediterranean. This valley is a deep cut or landslide varying from ten to fourteen miles in width and bordered by two rocky side walls from eight hundred to two thousand feet high. Through this gorge, after broadening into two lakes, the Jordan hurries in a winding course to the sea. The fourth belt lies on the east of the Jordan and merges gradually into the Arabian desert. In the north it starts from Mount Hermon and in the south is bounded by the mountains of Edom. Plateau-like it stands on an average about two thousand feet high, broken by single peaks or irregular ranges of hills. Much of it is of volcanic formation. It slopes toward the west and its waters flow into the Jordan.

37. A country like this has great variety of scenery, soil, climate, and productions. Mountain and valley, sea-coast and desert, deep gorges and high peaks, give uncommon opportunity for differences of temperature, varying from tropical heat in the Jordan Valley to the everlasting snow of Mount Hermon. In a few hours it is possible to pass from one extreme to the other. The various forms of vegetable and animal life correspond to this physical variety. Lions are hunted in the thickets of Jordan, bears are found on the plateaus; in the ascent from the coast to the heights, a short journey, the gorgeous vegetation of the tropics gives way to the plants of the temperate zone, until you reach the summits of bare rock.

38. These differences of the land separated the inhabitants so that unity was not easy. The natural method was organization into petty states, each occupying a valley or perched upon a hill, each independent of the other, each struggling with the other for more territory. Other important facts in the geographical character of the land aided in keeping the states disunited and weak. There was first its position midway between Babylonia and Assyria, on the one hand, and Egypt on the other. These states looked upon the country lying between them as their natural prey and there enemies met on its soil to fight out the possession of it. Still further, it was easily entered from north to south or east. Armies came through the open

gateways between the mountains or along the sea-coast. The wandering tribes of the desert swarmed over the eastern border, swept through the valleys, and disappeared again whence they came or settled down in the seats of those they pillaged. Thus the country was never secure, never peaceful, always receiving new peoples and absorbing them, always liable to attack and conquest. There was no time or opportunity for organization on a large scale; the petty states had all they could do to hold their own or made the best terms they could with the steady stream of invaders.

39. A glance at the changes which had come over the country as well as at the situation just before Israel entered makes clearer these general statements. For two hundred years, from 1600–1400 B. C., Egypt had ruled over Syria as far as the Euphrates. But by the beginning of the fourteenth century the Arameans had come in from the east and the Hittites from the north and had broken down the Egyptian supremacy. The Hittites pushed Egypt back to the Lebanons and founded a kingdom in north and central Syria, which lasted till a new movement of wanderers from the north and northwest, called by the Egyptians the Sea Peoples, came down and broke it in pieces. The pharaoh of Egypt, Rameses III, about 1180 B. C., defeated them in the coast plain of Palestine and thus kept them from entering Egypt, but his successors were not able to hold Palestine. A part of these Sea Peoples, called the Philistines, settled down soon after on the plain at the southeast corner of the Mediterranean and grew into a vigorous state. The rest disappeared in the mass of Syrian peoples. Meanwhile the Arameans had been coming in from the east and gradually taking their places in the various sections. The forefathers of Israel were probably an early wave in this Aramean movement. In these centuries no national organization or political unity could have been maintained among the peoples of Palestine.

40. It was when these waves of migration and conflict had spent their force, about 1150 B. C., that Israel appeared on the eastern border of the land. The time was most favorable for successful invasion. Egypt had withdrawn her forces. The native states were weakened by the attacks which they had suffered from all sides. No one of the new powers had gained sufficient strength to rise above

the rest. And thus it came to pass that in the lifetime of one man Israel was able to enter the land, fix itself firmly upon the western plateau, and begin the task of making itself the master of Palestine.

41. This man was Joshua with whose name Hebrew tradition linked the conquest of Palestine. He was one of the new generation born amidst the desert life. Moses saw in him the qualities of leadership and attached him to himself, inspired him with his own ideals, and selected him as his successor to lead Israel into the Promised Land.

42. Not long after the death of Moses, probably, the advance began. The Book of Joshua opens abruptly with the command of Jehovah bidding Joshua prepare the people for crossing the Jordan.[1] At the point where the river empties into the Dead Sea the valley widens out into a broad plain from which the roads lead up to the plateau. Here on the west side of the river the most considerable city was Jericho. It was a city-state under a king, rich and powerful, strongly fortified, and a formidable obstacle in the way of Israel's movement. The river must be crossed and Jericho fall before even the first steps could be taken in the ascent to the plateau.

43. Wonderful stories were told of Israel's overcoming these difficulties. Joshua sent spies across the river who even entered Jericho and returned safely with their report that fear had fallen upon their enemies. Then the advance began. As the people reached the banks of the Jordan, Jehovah halted the waters of the stream so that they passed over dry shod in the river bed and encamped at a place called Gilgal, a few miles east of Jericho. Then followed the downfall of Jericho. After laying siege to it the armed men one day at the command of Jehovah marched round the city with the ark of Jehovah in the midst of them. They repeated this daily until the seventh day when they marched around the city seven times. Then as the people shouted with a great shout the walls of the city fell.

[1] The Book of Joshua, like the other historical books of the Old Testament, is made up by a selection from a variety of sources early and late which contained the stories of the conquest. Even the earliest of these sources comes from a time separated by centuries from the events recorded. A strong religious spirit animated it. This spirit led the compilers to choose those scenes and events which most strikingly exalted the presence and activity of Jehovah and showed the fulfilment of his will. The later stories naturally heightened the significance and enlarged on the details of such episodes. Hence it is difficult to find a satisfactory order of events, to determine their relations, and to discover the original form of the actual historical occurrences.

The inhabitants were slaughtered and the spoil devoted to Jehovah by being burned with fire. Only Rahab the harlot who had sheltered the spies was saved with her family and her goods. Then Israel returned to Gilgal and prepared for the march upward.

44. Differences now appeared the causes of which are not hard to understand. Moses, whose strong personality had held the tribes and families together, was dead and Joshua had neither his prestige nor his power. With wives and children the men longed speedily to settle down. Israel's advance was a migration as well as an invasion. Already some of the tribes had found homes in the east Jordan land. Thus, from this time Israel no longer advances as one body. Some kind of a division of territory seems to have been made; Judah and Simeon separated from the rest and took the southern passes which led up into Southern Palestine, to occupy the district later known as Judah. There they disappear from view for a long time. The others followed Joshua up the northern road on to the central plateau where new struggles awaited them, the order of which we cannot clearly follow. A dash from Gilgal captured the city of Ai after a temporary repulse ascribed to the sin of Achan (Josh. 7). The city of Gibeon secured by deceit the promise of alliance and an attack upon it by other Canaanite cities brought Joshua to its relief. A great battle was fought at Beth-horon a thrilling episode of which was handed down in a song preserved from the Book of Jashar. Night began to fall as Israel put the enemy to flight and Joshua cried out:

> Sun, stand thou still upon Gibeon
> And, thou, Moon, in the valley of Ajalon.

And the tale went down in Israel that the sun stayed in the midst of heaven, and hasted not to go down about a whole day.

45. The victory of Beth-horon gave Joshua a footing in the mid-land. Thence he seems to have advanced northward and taken possession of Shechem in the region which afterward was the seat of the tribe of Ephraim. We are told also of a battle in Ai far north by the waters of Merom where Jabin of Hazor was smitten by him and Israel's position in that district secured. The stories of these battles show them to have been won by the furious charges of Joshua's warriors. Fierce and terrible indeed must have been the onrush of this wild bedouin horde upon its foe. It is not strange that the

peasants and farmers of the upland trembled at the news of their coming. Only the strong walls of fortified cities could withstand them. All the rest of the country fell before their savage assaults directed by the skilful generalship of their leader.

46. Thus before Joshua passed away the first stage of Israel's conquest was complete. Armed resistance was overcome. Comparatively few in numbers but with native vigor, inspired by simple religious faith, Israel was master in the Promised Land. That they found allies and friends other than the Gibeonites is quite probable, and they were doubtless greatly aided by the disorganized and disunited condition of the population. But it is Joshua's glory that he was the center and soul of this movement and brought it to final success. The spirit that stirred him is beautifully illustrated in a story of the early days of the advance. As he stood before Jericho a man met him with a drawn sword in his hand. Joshua rushed upon him only to find that it was Jehovah come to lead his hosts to victory. And Joshua put his shoes from off his feet, for the place on which he stood was holy. He had seen God and knew that Jehovah was the true captain of Israel's armies.

47. The next step after the conquest was the division of the land among the victors. For Israel had no formal unity to maintain and every tribe wanted its own territory to which to bring its wives and little ones and make its home. So they separated. We are told that Joshua assigned by lot the various districts to the several families and tribes and that before they separated he warned them to be faithful to Jehovah and made a covenant with them to obey his commands. He himself was an Ephraimite and when all was done went to his own district of Timnath-serah where he died in a ripe old age. Israel's hardest tasks yet remained to be done but Joshua had finished his work. His name went down in story among the heroes of Israel, the one who brought the work of Moses to splendid fulfilment in making Israel master of the Promised Land.

JESUS AN EXAMPLE OF FAITH

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"The author and finisher of our faith."—Heb. 12: 1.

The word "our" is an interpolation. Its presence alters entirely the thought of the writer, who is not thinking of faith as something developed in us, but as something exemplified in Jesus. "Author" is a very infelicitous rendering of ἀρχηγός, which properly means "leader." Jesus is not here represented as the author of faith, in the sense that he is the originator of it; he is rather the leader of faith; going before us in the way of faith; teaching us and showing us how to live the life of faith. In the other instances, three in number, in which the word occurs in the New Testament, it is twice translated "prince," and once "captain." In Acts 3:15, Jesus is called "the *prince* of life;" in Acts 5:31, "a *prince* and a Savior," and in Heb. 2:10, "the *captain* of our salvation." In the text we are considering the word is also rendered "captain" in the Revised Version. Jesus may thus be said to be the prince or captain of faith. But "leader" is the more exact meaning of the word. He is also the "finisher" or "perfector" of faith; carrying it to perfection in his life; thus furnishing, as the rendering of the Twentieth Century New Testament has it, a "perfect example of faith."

The thought is unusual, Jesus being generally set before us as the object of faith rather than as an example of faith. Yet this thought must necessarily be implied in many of the lessons of his life; and how could he be a perfect example to us if he had not lived a life of perfect faith?

When the example of Jesus is spoken of, his faith is generally the one thing that is omitted. We speak of him as an example of love, of meekness, of patience, of hope, of courage, of sacrifice, but we have no word for him as an example of faith. And yet here if anywhere we need the inspiring influence of his example.

If we turn to the hymnology of the church, there we find direction

regarding how to copy him we love in everything but in his faith. How familiar is the sentiment expressed in the lines—

> Such was thy truth, and such thy zeal,
> Such deference to thy Father's will,
> Such love, and meekness so divine,
> I would transcribe and make them mine.

To this also ought to be added, "Such was thy faith, O Son of man, I would transcribe and make it mine." By living the life of faith; by walking the way of faith before us, he has "left us an example that we should follow his steps."

The whole life of Jesus showed that he lived in the exercise of faith; and that faith was the foundation principle of his life. In the silent years of waiting in Nazareth his spiritual life was nourished by faith. He was conscious of personal relations with the Father, and impatient to be about the things of his house. In his baptism his faith was declared; in the temptation in the wilderness which followed, it was tested. His temptation was not theatrical display, but was a real conflict of soul, in which the tempter tried to break down his confidence in God. When he was hungry after the forty days' fast, the tempter came to him and said, "If thou be the Son of God command that these stones be made bread." The object of his first attack was to have him renounce his dependence upon God, and take things into his own hand. So in the other temptations he sought to destroy his perfect confidence in the Father. But he signally failed, and at the very beginning of his public career the faith of Jesus achieved a perfect victory. Through all his public ministry which followed, in times of obscurity and popularity alike, Jesus went on his course in faith. He walked by faith not by sight. He never doubted, never wavered. His feeling fluctuated, but not his faith. His faith was steadfast and abiding. He believed in the rational order of the universe, in the final outworking of the purpose of eternal love. Living a life of faith, he lived a life of prayer. Because he believed without ceasing, he prayed without ceasing. Like the Servant of Jehovah he did not fail, nor was he discouraged by the difficulties before him, but trusting in the God to whom he prayed he held on and held out to the end, in spite of opposition. When he saw the dark clouds gathering

and heard the muttering of the storm, he never faltered. "Now is my soul troubled," he exclaimed, "and what shall I say? Father, save me from this hour. But for this cause came I unto this hour" (John 12:27). In the hour of agony he discerned the divine purpose in his life and never doubted that it would be accomplished; and when he saw the shadow of the cross creeping near, he exclaimed, "And I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto myself" (John 12:32). Instead of looking upon death as defeat, he looked upon it as the means by which his influence was to be propagated. "Except a grain of wheat fall into the ground and die, it abideth by itself alone; but if it die, it beareth much fruit" (John 12:24). And when the hour of final conflict came, in the midst of its awful darkness he clung to the divine hand saying "*My* God, *My* God." Even in that hour of desolation, when he felt as if he had been forsaken, the anchor chain of faith did not snap. That he was also sustained as death drew near by faith in his resurrection, is clearly brought out in Mark 8:31; 9:9, 31; 10:33, 34. That he was sustained by faith in the success of his mission, and in the ultimate triumph of his kingdom is equally evident from the words which follow our text, "he for the joy that was set before him endured the cross, despising shame." The joy that was set before him was the joy of seeing sin destroyed, righteousness made triumphant, and the kingdom of God established among men. Through the power of that faith-born joy he put shame and suffering under his feet. With faith's farseeing eye he saw of the travail of his soul and was satisfied.

This view of Jesus, as one who in the matter of faith leads the way and brings faith to perfection, restores to us the human Jesus, of whom scholastic theology has too often robbed us. Instead of being removed from our common human experience, he is brought into the very heart of it. As human he is imitable; and he is imitable in his faith as in everything else. More specifically—

1. *Our faith is to be the same as his.*—It is to be a reflection of it, a copy of it. Just as those who follow in the steps of Abraham are said to be "of the faith of Abraham," those who tread in the footsteps of Jesus are "of the faith of Jesus." The faith which he possessed they possess. Their faith differs from his, not in kind, but

only in degree. The one is a twinkling lamp, the other is the sun shining in its strength; and as the light of a lamp and the light of the sun is the same in its constituent elements, so the faith of the feeblest saint is essentially the same as the faith of Jesus. One with Jesus in his faith, we are one with him in the deepest thing in his life.

2. *Faith is to be the foundation principle of our life as it was of his.*—The reason doubtless why his faith is here singled out for our imitation is because all that he did sprang from it. And if we live by faith as he did, faith will bear the same fruit in our lives that it bore in his. It will make us faithful, it will make us holy, it will make us altruistic. With faith running through the entire web of life like a thread of gold, character will be beautified; with faith as the backbone of the ethical life character will be strengthened. From filial confidence will spring filial obedience. And where faith endures unto death there will be faithfulness unto death. Moreover, nothing short of inward imitation of Jesus in his faith, nothing short of copying him in the inward controlling principle of his life, will keep our religion from becoming formal and mechanical, and make us truly like him.

3. *Our faith is to be held in the face of difficulties as his was.*—Like him we are to fight for faith; like him when we walk in the dark we are to believe that clouds will break. With quiet and perfect trust we are to await the issue of each new event in our lives. We are to go on without flinching even if our path leads up to a cross. Catching something of his sublime faith in the future, seeing the harvest in the seed, the oak in the acorn, the achievement in the promise, we enter into the rest of faith, running with patience the race set before us. Partaking of his calm unwavering faith in the God who is, and in the glory that is to come, we triumph over every difficulty and finish our course with joy.

4. *As the most illustrious example of faith he is to be the inspirer and strengthener of our faith.*—"His going before us in faith" says Alford, "has made faith possible for us; his perfecting faith in his own person and example has made faith effectual for us." Through the power of his quickening influence his faith is transmitted to us as the faith of a parent is transmitted to a child.

In the previous chapter the writer of this epistle gives a list of the Old Testament saints who lived by faith, and died by faith. Their faith, which rested upon the promises of God, took hold of things not seen. With their eye fixed upon the goal they homeward pressed their way through calm and storm. Yet though they had "witness borne to them through their faith, they received not the promises, God having provided some better thing concerning us, that apart from us they should not be made perfect." From these examples of strong but imperfect faith, he passes on to the one perfect example of faith, the one in whose life faith was full-rounded and complete; and he says, "When weary and faint in your minds consider him; consider him as the prince of believers; the captain of believers; the leader of believers; consider him as the one perfect believer, the life-blood of whose faith is to enter into you, making you in all your upward strugglings gloriously triumphant."

O Master mine, teach me thy faith; help me to follow thee as my leader in the way of faith. Help me to see in thy faith made perfect what my faith ought to be. Help me to make thy matchless faith my pattern; and help me under its inspiring influence to walk in the path of righteousness, until my journey is done, and I enter that blessed state where faith is lost in sight.

EXPOSITORY STUDIES IN THE OLD TESTAMENT

IX. JOSHUA, THE SUCCESSOR OF MOSES

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JOSHUA, ISRAEL'S NEW LEADER: JOSHUA 1:1–11[1]

I. CRITICAL

The book of Joshua is the completion of the Pentateuch. The opening word, "and," implies a backward glance to the last sentence of Deuteronomy. The altar at Shechem (8:30–35); the warfare of the two and a half tribes (vs. 13); the distribution of the land (vss. 13–21); the Levitical cities (vs. 20); the Cities of Refuge (vs. 21), and the burial of the bones of Joseph (24:32) are but the replies to the commands, the solutions to the problems, and the fulfilments of promises which are recorded in the five earlier books. The book is the sequel of the Pentateuch, and with the others is vitally connected in a literary and historical unit, fitly designated the Hexateuch.

The book itself contains no claim as to authorship. Hebrew tradition ascribed it to Joshua, but historical statements, such as 15:13, 63; 19:47, are of later date, and the title indicates not the author but the hero. The literary problem is here the same as in the Pentateuch. The use of composite sources and frequent reworking by well-known schools most intelligibly explains its perplexities. The crossing of the Jordan, for example, presents a blending of two divergent traditions. (Cf. 3:17; 4:1, with 4:10, 8, 9; or study the capture of Hebron and Debir, 10:36–38, where the cities and all therein are completely destroyed, and compare with 14:12; 15:13–19, where the cities are populous and have to be captured by Caleb.) These and many similar features witness for the ancient Semitic method of history-writing, namely, compiling the available material side by side and dovetailing it as best possible, e.g., Tatian's *Diatessaron*.

It is agreed that a late rendering of the prophetic narratives JE forms the general groundwork of the book. A comparison of Judg. 1:2–36, in which the early Judean narrative presents the conquest of Canaan, with the story of the same conquest as told in Josh. 6:1–12, emphatically proclaims that the Judges story is early and the Joshua story late. In Judges we see the actual course of history, a slow, laborious struggle for possession

[1] International Sunday-School Lesson for October 6, 1907.

only partially gained. In Joshua facts are idealized; there is a lack of true historic perspective, and the halo of the passing centuries has gathered around the story. That Judges traces the actual course of events the more carefully is hinted by certain passages in Joshua, as 13:13; 15:63; 16:10; 17:12, which have not the same glow as 10:28–43; 11:10–23.

With JE the demarkation of the individual sources is difficult—as a background, the Deuteronomic author, a moralist rather than a historian, has left many distinct traces. He, conversant with the evils arising from contact with Canaan, posits as a religious dogma the necessity of the destruction of these people who so corrupted Jehovah-worship. Hence the slaughter of the Canaanites (10:33, 39; 16:10, etc.) which is in strictest accord with Deut. 20:10–14. The priestly school in due time added to the story features of special moment to themselves, e. g., Passover (5:10–12), division of land (13:15—14:5; 15:1–13), refuge and Levitical cities (15:20, 21).

Thus the book written and edited long after the occurrences gives not so much history as a religious interpretation of the same. The book, though slightly appreciated because of long boundary lists and revolting atrocities, yet enshrines traditions, which, while reworked in an idealistic glow, are the media of a conviction which rings true on the great doctrines of the supremacy of Jehovah, and the need of the absolute loyalty of his people to him. Viewed in this light we have a mighty sermon on great religious principles, of which the boundary lists and atrocities are but the tedious and overdrawn illustrations of the preacher.

As for the literary sources of Josh. 1:1–11, we may accept vss. 1, 2, 10, 11 as late Ephraimitic, and vss. 3–9 as belonging to D. The study of the following passages is conclusive of the Deuteronomic influence: vss. 3, 4 (cf. Deut. 11:24); 1:5 (cf. Deut. 7:24; 4:9; 6:2; 16:13; 17:19; 31:8); vss. 6–9 (cf. Deut. 7:7, 23).

II. EXPOSITORY

The great Law-Giver is gone but the hosts of Jehovah are not wanting a leader. Joshua is not an unknown quantity. Trained in the schools of Egypt and the desert; a leader against Amalek (Exod. 17:6–13); the companion of Moses on the Mount (Exod. 24:13); trained in religious functions (Exod. 33:11); confident and loyal, he is a fit man to bear the divine commission at a crucial time. He has, and not without appropriateness, been compared with such men as Cromwell and Garibaldi.

The new leader takes up an old mission and is to be honored and accredited by a signal initial service (vs. 2). The promises of God made

to one generation fall due in the succeeding (vs. 3). The promise referred to is found in Deut. 11:24, which is rendered freely. The boundaries, as in vs. 4, are not well ordered. With the help of the Greek and a warranted textual change we may read, "from the desert to this Lebanon, and from . . . . the Euphrates to the sea." This gives plain boundaries for south, north, east, and west. "As I was with Moses" (vs. 4) is a keynote to the promise to Joshua. Note that there are certain similarities and coincidences in the narratives concerning these two men. The same promise is made to both. Moses has a vision of the burning bush (Exod. 3:2) at the beginning of his ministry; Joshua meets the angel of the host (Josh. 5:15); both stand on holy ground (Exod. 3:5; Josh. 5:15); both lead the people between the walls of water (Exod. 14:15–21; Josh. 3, 4); the ark is the sign for both men and with both Jehovah speaks. Thus the author shows that Joshua is in many features the not unworthy successor of Moses. Yet, though victory is promised in the divine name, personal courage and vigor is insisted on (vss. 6, 7, 9). Human activities are always the channels through which divine victories flow. The appeal made to the Book of the Law (vs. 8) seems to refer to the farewell injunctions of Moses (Deut., chap. 27). This is called "the Book of the Law" in Deut. 29:21. It was not till after 621 B. C. that religious leaders made such an appeal (cf. I Kings 22:8–13). Earlier prophets made their appeals to the general consciousness of the rightness of their message. Ps. 1:3 quotes from this verse. Preparation of the people (vss. 10, 11, and again, 3:5) is as necessary as Joshua's courage in order that the plans of Jehovah may come to full fruition.

III. APPLICATION

1. *For every crisis in every age God has his leaders.* Moses dies, then Joshua is called; the general falls, a lieutenant steps from the ranks and leads to victory; a president is shot down, a vice-president with distinguished ability fills the breach; a pastor, a great leader on whom the people lean, is taken, somewhere God has a man in readiness for the carrying-on of his work.

2. *The man who is fit, and of whom the people approve, is the man whom Jehovah chooses.* Joshua was a leader by training and character. Note that such men as David, Paul, Wesley, Moody, Lincoln, were honored by men and chosen of God.

3. *The divine is constantly working through the human,* bringing purposes and promises to fulfilment. Our movements are divinely guided. A higher purpose is being woven in the warp and woof of our lives. Though we may need the decades of the future to see it, we are preparing for a

service, a leadership, a struggle, a victory which lies in the direct line of God's plans. "Only be strong and very courageous." The divine fails not.

The Eternal Finger writes
And, having writ, moves on.

Israel Enters the Land of Promise: Joshua 3:5–17[2]

I. CRITICAL

For the complete account of crossing the Jordan we must read Josh. 3:1—4:24. This is a good illustration of composite literary sources. Reading it as a continuous narrative, there is confusion. The Greek and Latin translators, feeling this, smoothed out some of the difficulties. Some of these are: the order for crossing (3:8; 4:5) when they are already on their way (3:6), or over (3:17); the command in 3:4 would prevent the condition in 3:17; the twelve stones from the river bed are to be placed where they encamp (4:3, 8, 12), but in 4:20 Gilgal is to be their resting-place, while 4:9 designates the river bottom. Clearly these perplexing phenomena are the result of an indifferent weaving together of sources. Yet the analysis of the section is by no means simple and little certainty can be attained as to details. Belonging to the late Judean source probably is the following: Joshua's command that the people sanctify themselves (3:1, 5), in preparation for entrance into Canaan (3:9, 10), guided by the ark and priests (3:11, 13); the rolling back of the waters (3:15); the crossing and the erecting of the memorial where they encamped (4:1, 3, 6, 7*a*, 8*b*, 10*a*, 11, 18). The spirit and linguistic peculiarities of the early Ephraimitic story are found in 3:2, 3, 12, 14; 4:4, 5, 7*b*, 8*a*, 20. It is noticeable that here the northern sanctuary is the place honored by the twelve stones. The priestly narrative is also in evidence, e.g., 3:7, 8, 15*b*, 17; 4:9, 10*b*, 12–19. While it is unlikely that any one tradition has been preserved entire, the three strands have certain important features in common. All tell the story of the crossing, the ark borne by the priests leading the way, the memorial stones erected as witnesses. Thus, while there are variations, there is also a threefold witness to a remarkable passage of the Jordan under divine guidance. How the passage was effected is not the matter presented so much as the fact. Lapse of years before the fact was crystallized in writing, and the personal and religious interests of the narrators, will readily account for what divergence we find in the different documents. In addition to these three strands we find in such phrases as, "priests the Levites" (3:3, 4), "ark of the covenant of the

[2] International Sunday-School Lesson for October 13, 1907.

Lord" (3:11, 13), and the seven nations named in 3:10, the work of a Deuteronomic scribe. Noteworthy here and henceforth is the absence of all mention of the tabernacle and its elaborate furniture.

II. EXPOSITORY

The people move from Shittim—six miles east of Jordan—where the anger of the Lord had been kindled against them because of false worship (Num. 25:1) and encamp beside the river. The length of their stay here is indefinite. As 3:2, "after three days," does not correspond to 1:11 and the tomorrow of 3:5 glides into today (3:6, 7), we find we have no chronological sequence indicated. They may have been only a short time, they may, like a desert caravan, have waited some considerable period for the opportune moment.

They must needs sanctify themselves before they start (3:5). No direction is here given, but some simple primitive ceremony would suffice (cf. Exod. 19:14, 15). Sacrifice on the eve of an important day was quite common (Josh. 7:13; I Sam. 16:5). The working of wonders to the early peoples was one of the most patent proofs of deity.

The ark (3:6), the construction of which is mentioned in Exod. 25:10 f., was the symbol of Jehovah's presence. In the wilderness and in battle it led the hosts (Num. 10:33 ff.), and it seems to have early assumed a magical significance (Sam. 4:3 ff.). The designation, "ark of the covenant," is peculiarly a Deuteronomic phrase (Deut. 10:8; 31:9, 25, 26), and here must be accredited to a scribe. The living God (3:10) is the source of life, the "I Am" of Exod. 3:14. His first providence for his people facing the Land of Promise, is to be but the foretaste of his constant and conquering presence. In him lies the ultimate cause of their coming victories. Yet, as we learn from the sequel in Joshua and Judges, his victories are attained only through weary marches, strenuous struggles, and unflinching valor. The seven nations mentioned here form a rhetorical list, found frequently in the Old Testament (Deut. 7:1; 9:1; 11:3; 20:17; Exod. 13:5; 23:23). They embrace the inhabitants of the land, small and great. Some, as the Perizzites and Girgashites, cannot be very definitely located.

In vs. 11 the phrase, "the Lord of all the Earth," shows a strong monotheistic conception. While Israelites from the time of Moses recognized that they must serve and worship Jehovah alone, the idea that he was the only and the all supreme God of the universe struggled slowly to birth. It is not until the days of the exile that we have the great classic on mono-

theism (Isa. 44:6–20), and thenceforth the all-supremacy of Jehovah is never lost sight of.

The time of harvest (vs. 15) refers to the barley harvest, which matured in the month Nisan. This agrees with the flood time of the Jordan, and the Passover which was celebrated shortly after, on the fourteenth of Nisan (5:10). Adam is the modern ford of Dâmieh, which is about thirty miles up stream from Jericho, and situated near a narrow gorge of the river.

In the crossing of the Jordan one feature stands out in undisputed light: that is, that the historians of the children of Israel were confident that the hand of Jehovah prepared their way and led them into the Promised Land. We miss, however, any statement as to the agency which God used in performing this wonder. Was there a strong east wind, which, as in the case of the Red Sea, rolled the waters back? Was there a landslide similar to that which completely stopped up the river on December 8, 1267, as many suggest? Did Joshua, from information derived from the spies who had crossed and recrossed in their trip to Jericho, lead the people across by means of a ford? No hint is given. Tradition had long been busy with the divine significance of the event, and as the fathers had enlarged by the evening camp-fire on this memorable passage, the details which we sometimes crave had dropped out, and one word, Jehovah, was left to explain it all. And much as accurate details might gratify scientific curiosity, they are not necessary here to support the religious certainty that the hand of Jehovah led his people across.

III. APPLICATION

1. *The supremacy of Jehovah* was one of the fundamental religious principles of the Hebrew mind. He was the living God of the whole earth. He controlled the national destiny of his people, giving them victory when faithful, or punishing them by defeat when they violated his requirements. The forces of nature were under his control. Good and evil, light and darkness, were the immediate offspring of his mind and will (Isa. 45:7). Today in a more scientific age we make a careful study of secondary and natural causes, and sometimes are inclined to forget that behind law is the God of law who is the ultimate power in all life.

2. *The primacy of religion* follows as a corollary of the foregoing. If Jehovah is supreme then the relation of the individual to him is the most critical feature in human destiny. This has stamped every action and thought of the Jewish people. Priest and prophet, ark and temple, are the paramount features in their history. Their national literature itself is primarily religious, rather than historical. The same conviction is needed

today for the nation's well-being. In the face of great natural resources, luxurious living, and exaltation of natural law, God is sometimes omitted from our scheme of things.

3. *No barriers can stand before a united people led by Jehovah.* The Red Sea, the Amalekites, the Jordan, all vanish. Intemperance, political corruption, commercial slavery, and social evil, war, etc., before a united Christian people can be overcome as certainly as were the difficulties faced by the Israelites.

The Capture of Jericho: Joshua 6:8–20[3]

I. CRITICAL

That two accounts are here united is evident from the comparison of the following facts: the signal for capture is the command of Joshua in 6:10, 16, 20*a*, while it is the trumpet blast in 6:5, 20*b*; the saving of Rahab, in both language and idea, because she delivered the messengers (6:17, 25 [J]; cf. 2:18, 19 [J]), because she had hidden the spies who now identify her (6:22, 23 [E]; cf. 2:13–16 [E]); the march around the city, silent (6:10); a great trumpet-blowing, by the rearward rather than the priests, as the R. V. and A. V. render 6:9, 13. The J tradition may have narrated a surrounding of the city, seven days once each day, while E maintained that they encompassed the city seven times in one day. With J (probably late) and E (probably early) there are traces of still later redaction (as 6:2, 17). Separation, however, into component parts is far from easy at certain points.

II. EXPOSITORY

Jericho has been called the "city of Palms," and has been described as a "divine region," and "the pantry of Judea." The city which now lies two miles west of the ancient site has a population of only some 300 degenerate inhabitants. In early times she was a stately, wealthy, walled city, centered in a fertile district, with a mild, moist climate, and a considerable population. Though walled, she was never able to stand a siege. Her people, as now, were always degenerates. No hero, no valorous deeds, ever seem to have adorned her page of history. Before the approach of every foe, as Bacchides, Aristobulus, Pompey, Herod, and Vespasian, her people either ignominiously fled or quickly succumbed. As one author well says, "that her walls fell down at the sound of Joshua's trumpets is no exaggeration, but the soberest summary of all her history."

[3] International Sunday-School Lesson for October 20, 1907.

Preparations were carefully made; religious functions were faithfully performed, such as circumcision (5:2), Passover (5:10). The conquest was in fact a religious war, thoroughly organized (6:6, 8; 5:13–15), to gain a God-promised possession. The seven trumpets, borne by seven priests, were of rams' horns, and were not only used for religious purposes, as today on certain occasions in the synagogue, but for secular purposes also.

As this is a matter of warfare rather than meeting the elements of nature, we are not surprised to find the armed men leading, the ark following, then the multitude (6:7, 9, 13).

The armed force is variously estimated. Josh. 4:13 (P^2) says forty thousand armed men passed over the Jordan. In Num. 26:51 (P), a very short time previous to this, there were numbered more than 600,000 men who were able to go forth to war (Num. 26:2). As in the immediately succeeding history we can find no evidence for such an army, probably the figures are overdrawn. Such a hostile army with an innumerable rearward following would be a sight to make any city in any age quake, to say nothing of the timid people in little Jericho.

All the city is to be destroyed (vss. 17, 18). The victory is not for personal aggrandizement. It is conducted religiously and city, spoil, and people are separated to Jehovah. Hence, as to the primitive mind contact with anything belonging to deity was fraught with danger (cf. Uzzah touching the ark: II Sam. 6:6–11), the ban was for personal safety. This ban included the slaughter of all save Rahab and her house. This is akin to commands in Deut. 20:16–18, and what we already know of the character of the book of Joshua suggests that this may not be an idealized narrative of history. Cruelty was not foreign to these people, and death there must have been in the struggle. The bloody commands to indiscriminate slaughter are explained in accordance with the genius of the records which express simply the later writer's conviction that these people were deserving of the direst destruction.

We notice that Rahab's character has little to do with her deliverance. Morality was not linked with religion in early days. Even today they are sometimes divorced. The woman had given the cup of cold water and is not forgotten. Tradition says she became the wife of Joshua and a devoted follower of Jehovah.

All through the story the author emphasizes the divine side. Yet there are found inadvertent touches which suggest another. The people of Jericho are already afraid (2:9); the city was straitly shut up (6:1), which, owing to her situation, means that her water supply was cut off, and dire results would soon follow. The army of Israel assumes a more

important place than the ark and priests; it is represented as very numerous (40,000? 600,000?). Was this host of vigorous, capable, restless nomads inactive? Was there naught but a pageant? Josh. 24:11, "The men of Jericho fought against us," suggests a skirmish at least, perhaps a storming of the walls. No doubt in vs. 20 we deal with historic fact. Yet the story has preserved little but the religious side, and a one-sided view always loses the true perspective. Our usual picture is the tramp! tramp! tramp! of a mighty multitude followed by a sudden collapse of the walls. This may not be the whole picture. A recent writer suggests the city walls may have been undermined during the first six days, hence the crash on the seventh. However, God has always used men for the accomplishment of his plans, and why should this host be inactive when there was at hand a service they might perform? Yet while it seems probable that the warriors were in active partnership with Jehovah, we gladly lend our ears to the teaching of this prophet of old when by a vivid and picturesque illustration he drills into our minds his great religious thought, "The victory belongeth to the Lord." This was the fact he had in mind, which lent its color to the whole story, and which is the most important fact to be handed down to history.

III. APPLICATION

A comparison of the accounts of the invasion of Canaan as given in Joshua and in Judges is full of religious suggestiveness. In the former, as we have seen, all difficulties vanish by miracle, and God alone gives victory. In the latter the various tribes by slow and arduous conflict win their lands. It is not that one account is fiction and the other fact. It is that one looks at the significance of the history and the other at the process. Of course we must always fight our own battles and win our own victories. For civic righteousness, for social betterment, for a real Christianity as well as for individual character, we must labor, and the Lord's presence in the effort will only be discerned by faith. Yet when we look back, in the perspective of the years, we shall ever say, as the Hebrew history-preachers said, and as the men of faith have always said: It was not by our might. The walls of difficulty fell down before us by the grace of God.

CALEB'S FAITHFULNESS REWARDED: JOSHUA 14:6–15[4]

I. CRITICAL

Caleb's allotment is recounted three times in the Old Testament. An early Judean source, used in Judg. 1:20, gives a very brief account, which

[4] International Sunday-School Lesson for October 27, 1907.

finds no place for the activity of Joshua. This was later expanded and used probably by P in Josh. 15:13. The third and longest narrative is our present study (Josh. 14:6–20). This is a late Deuteronomic recast of E or JE. With the exception of "and concerning thee" (vs. 6), which is out of tune with the rest of the section (cf. vss. 8, 9, 12), and a redaction, it stands as a unit in its present form. Another question which ought not to be overlooked, inasmuch as it throws light on the composite character of the book as a whole, is that of the conquest of Hebron. It is stated that that city was captured (10:36, 37), and that Joshua had driven out the Anakim (11:21). Both these sections belong to D. With this compare 14:15 (JE) and 15:14 (JE), as well as Judg. 1:20 (J), where Caleb has to take possession of the city.

II. EXPOSITORY

Caleb—the name means dog, and some would see in this a sign of early totemism amongst the Hebrews—is one of the interesting characters of Old Testament history, not merely because of his personality and achievements, but also because his nativity and his acquired relation to Judah give a strong hint of the composite character of the "twelve tribes of Israel." Strange as it may seem in the light of late Jewish exclusiveness, this faithful follower of the "God of Israel," like so many who played not unimportant parts in their early history (e. g., Othniel, Rahab, Ruth, Rechab, Heber, Uriah, and others), was a foreigner by birth and only grafted into the true stock. Much evidence for this is at hand. The lineage of Kenaz is traced back to Esau (Gen. 36:11, 15, 42). The grammatical form Kenizzite, used here and frequently (Num. 32:12; Josh. 15:17; Judg. 1:13; 3:9, 11), is gentilic, thus clearly signifying foreign birth. The historian of the times of David recognizes this clan as distinct from Judah; Nabal was a Calebite (I Sam. 25:3), and the territory is separate from that of Judah (I Sam. 30:14). No doubt this clan becomes an important factor in Judah. Later writers speak of Caleb, not only as representative for Judah, in spying the land (Num. 13:6 [P]), and in dividing the land (Num. 34:19 [P]), but one even makes him a branch of Judah as by lineal descent (I Chron. 2:9, 18 f., 42 ff.). Probably at an early date the Caleb clan separated from the Kenizzite and moved northward from Mount Seir. In the time of Abraham the historian represents the Kenizzite as in the land (Gen. 15:19). The Calebites may have joined Israel early in her history. Caleb's hopeful account of the country may indicate a previous acquaintance with it and its peoples. The suggestion has been made that he settled Canaan from the south. This is by no

means impossible. His lineage, his lack of fear of the people, his absence from the story during the major part of the Israelitish journey, lend color to such a hypothesis. Hence we see an alien playing an important part in the early movements of a people who later became so intolerant of others (cf. Ezra 10:1–15).

Our first actual acquaintance with this man is made in the person of the spy who brought back the good report of Canaan in the second year of the Exodus. In the appointment as spy (Num. 13:9); the effort to still the mutiny in the congregation after the report (Num. 14:6, 7); the inheriting of the promise (Num. 14:30, 38); passages all from the pen of the priestly writer—Joshua is the copartner in honor with Caleb. On the other hand, in the JE document (Deut. 1:36; Num. 14:24) to Caleb alone is the honor, and to him exclusively is the promise of entrance to Canaan made. Josh. 14:6–20 runs as though Joshua had not been of the spies. The statements of Josh. 14:8—which can scarcely be attributed to humility on the part of Caleb in not claiming equality with the present leader (Josh. 14:9, 11, 12)—are passing strange if the author were aware that Joshua had served and reported side by side with Caleb. Clearly we have two distinct, somewhat divergent, narratives, both of which, however, agree that Caleb made an early trip into southern Canaan and reported favorably.

As a man he is one of the honored heroes of early days who has gained a place in the minds of later historians, but his deeds and personality are dim in the shadows of the past. He united his interests with those of Israel and became a follower of the God of Israel through personal choice. Personal conviction finds expression, though it be unpopular (14:7, 8). Dangers he is ready to face in his early life, and as an older man he has the same vigor of body and mind (vss. 7, 11). He displays a tact and fine courtesy when he suggests to Joshua, "I will drive them out" (vs. 12). In craving this privilege we see an illustration of the spirit of the finest chivalry. But nothing does the narrative keep before us so systematically as that he wholly followed Jehovah his God (vss. 7, 8, 10, 12).

Hebron and its environment, situated 22 miles south of Jerusalem on the highest part of the mountains of Judah, is his inheritance. All traditions represent this as a very ancient city. Built seven years before Zoan is mentioned in Num. 13:22, Abram visited it and built there an altar (Gen. 13:18). Here were buried the three patriarchs and two of their wives (Gen. 49:30, 31; 50:13). The earlier name had been Kiryath-Arba, which etymologically would signify, "city of four," or, "four-fold city." Hebrew tradition, agreeing with this, called it the city of four, i. e.,

four saints, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Adam, all of whom they claimed were buried there. The name here is interpreted as referring to a founder by the name of Arba. Today, called El-Khalil, and with a population of 18,000 Moslems, it is venerated as one of their four sacred cities.

The oath of Moses mentioned in vs. 9 refers no doubt to the promise in Num. 14:24.

III. APPLICATION

1. *The value of a personal religious choice.*—The old hero who chose Jehovah and became honored among the elect people speaks to us of the significance and opportunity of the individual. Not only the heirs of great religious traditions can enter the Promised Land, but others also whose own choice elects them.

2. *The perils of the man of faith.*—Caleb has ten votes against him of the spies; the people murmur at his report; and in his old age he must meet the Anakim before he gains his inheritance. Every man and every movement whose social and religious insight is beyond that of the multitude must meet criticism, opposition, and the giants.

3. *The reward of faith is certain.*—Caleb waited forty-five years for his reward. We are often impatient because reforms are long delayed and because progress seems so slow. Caleb's loyalty and patience will have Caleb's reward.

Current Opinion

Acts and Galatians Once More

The problem of the construction of the history of the apostolic age on the basis of the Book of Acts and the Pauline epistles is one of perennial interest. In the July issue of the *American Journal of Theology* Professor Benjamin W. Bacon deals afresh with it, especially with the relation of Acts, chap. 15, to Gal., chap. 2. Professor Bacon is one of the writers who, like Browning among the poets, has too much respect for his reader's power of discernment to make things easy for him. But we judge that his theory would issue in substantially the following scheme of events:

1. Three years with Damascus as the center.

2. First visit to Jerusalem after the apostle's conversion.

3. Eleven years with Antioch and Tarsus as the center.

4. Second visit to Jerusalem, Gal. 2:1–10—identical with Acts 15:1–9; also with Acts 11:30, if Acts is historical at this point.

5. First missionary journey, Acts, chaps. 13, 14, in the midst of which occurred—

6. Peter's visit to Antioch, Gal. 2:11–21. Peter came to Antioch in the absence of Paul; the news of the liberal policy which he and the Antioch Jews had adopted having been borne to Jerusalem, probably by John Mark, James sent his messengers with his proposal of the conditions of table fellowship between Jewish and Gentile Christians set forth in Acts 15:29. This proposal the Antioch Christians adopted. Paul, returning and finding this situation existing, protested, but in vain; Peter, Barnabas, and the Antioch church maintained the compromise proposed by James, Paul alone standing out against it.

7. Second missionary journey.

8. Third missionary journey, in the course of which the positions of James and Peter were so modified in practice that the difference between them became mainly academic.

9. Visit to Jerusalem, Acts 21, the alleged participation of Paul in the purification ceremony, being, however, unhistorical.

The story which we have in Acts is, in the opinion of Professor Bacon, constructed by the combination of a Petrine and a Pauline source, the former, we are led to think, having been originally constructed with conscious art and effort to make Peter's life read as much as possible like what Paul's really was; the latter being from the pen of Luke himself. The result of this combination is a narrative which departs materially

from historic fact, ascribing to Paul on the one side a consent to the demands of the legal party which he could never have made, and on the other to Peter an initiative in the direction of giving liberty to the Gentiles which is likewise unhistorical. Yet Bacon is disposed to believe that the author of the Acts may have been Luke the companion of Paul and that he wrote his history without intention to misrepresent facts. This is a return to the position of F. C. Baur with modifications which make the theory more complicated if not also more difficult.

Aside from the probability or improbability of the rôle thus assigned to Luke, the salient points of the theory are (*a*) the separation of Acts, chap. 15, into two parts, both treated as at least in part historical, though wrongly joined together; (*b*) the identification of Acts 15:1–9 with Gal. 2:1–10; (*c*) the placing of the event thus doubly recorded before the first missionary journey, or in other words placing Acts, chaps. 13, 14, after Acts 15:1–9 and between Gal. 2:1–10 and 11–21; (*d*) the placing of the decrees of Acts 15:29 after Gal. 2:11–21, and the treatment of them not as a result of agreement between Paul and the Jerusalem apostles, but as emanating from James only. The chief grounds for this reconstruction are that Paul would never consistently with his principles have been a party to such an agreement as to the basis of table fellowship between Jewish and Gentile Christians, and that if they had been adopted before Peter came to Antioch Peter could never have pursued his wavering course there, since the decrees would already have marked out the path both for the Antioch Christians and for him. It must be admitted that Bacon has advanced some reasons, even if they are not decisive, for placing Acts, chaps. 13, 14, after Gal. 2:1–10. But we are not so sure that he has given decisive reasons for the position and character which he assigns to Acts 15:29 ((*d*), above); and this is really the crucial point. Let it be granted that Paul's assertion in Gal. 2:5 that he did not for an hour yield by way of the subjection that was demanded excludes "decrees" sent out to Gentile churches, by authority of the Jerusalem apostles, or by a "council" in Jerusalem, and that the Acts report is in this phase of it colored by the thought of a later time; does it then follow that no message substantially of this content, but less authoritative in tone, could have been sent out at this time? Or is it certain that Peter could not have pursued the course which he first adopted at Antioch, if a request of this purport had been sent out from Jerusalem? There are three closely related elements of the situation to which Professor Bacon seems not to do quite full justice. The first of these is the sharp distinction, and yet intimate relation, between the question that was discussed in Jerusalem and that

which came to issue at Antioch. In Jerusalem the question was whether the Gentile should be circumcised—or, more accurately stated, whether Paul should go on preaching to the Gentiles without demanding circumcision and without interference from Jerusalem. At Antioch the question was whether Jewish Christians should continue to observe the law of clean and unclean meats, or better stated (and the distinction is important), whether they should do so under conditions which made such continuance a practical insistence that the Gentiles should also conform to the law. Thus the Antioch question was distinct from the Jerusalem question, both as respects the particular statute of the law under consideration and as respects the persons whose obedience to it was at issue. No element of the question at issue at Antioch was directly passed upon at Jerusalem. It is true and important to observe that when the question about the obligation of the Jews to keep the law of food was raised *at Antioch* it in turn brought up the broader question which lay at the bottom of the Jerusalem issue, viz., the freedom of the Gentile from the statutes of the law. But it was at the bottom of it and not on the surface of it, and for that very reason it was possible for the Antioch controversy to arise even after the Jerusalem decision had been reached. So far on the basis of Galatians only. If now Acts says that it was decided at Jerusalem, Paul consenting, that the Gentiles were to obey the Jewish law of food, this is something very different from what Paul says and implies, and we must agree with Bacon that the Acts assertion is incorrect, or that Paul by his own confession retreated at Antioch from the agreement he made at Jerusalem. But is this a correct interpretation of the Acts statement? It is not what Acts *says*. We are not persuaded that Professor Bacon has made it clear that it is implied in the Acts account.

This brings us to the second point in which Mr. Bacon seems not to do full justice to the facts. He assumes throughout his discussion that the food question raised at Antioch and that dealt with in Acts 15:29 are the same. If they were, Professor Bacon's case would be a strong one. But is this assumption justified? Acts 15:29 speaks of abstaining from "things sacrified to idols and from blood, and from things strangled." Gal. 2:11–21 speaks simply of eating with the Gentiles. These expressions are not synonymous. Lev., chap. 11, gives a long list of animals which the Jew must not eat. It cannot be assumed then that things offered to idols, and blood, and things strangled are the only things by which the Gentile's table would fall under the prohibition of the Jewish law, or perhaps even that these were the things by which it would be most likely to be obnoxious. If the Antioch Christian was acting in perfect conformity

with the decrees (or request) of the Jerusalem brethren as set forth in Acts 15:29, he might still have on his table at every meal food forbidden by Jewish law. The Jew at least could never be sure that it was free from such food. The Jerusalem "decrees" cannot be interpreted as intended to impose the Jewish law of foods as such upon the Gentiles. Conformity to them would still leave an Antioch Christian's table under the ban of Jewish law, and therefore still leave ample room for the Antioch incident of Gal. 2:11–21.

But there is a third point also at which Professor Bacon's argument is open to question. He assumes that Acts 15:13–35 has to do with establishing a basis for table fellowship. It is true that Gal. 2:11–21 reports a controversy over table fellowship. But it is assuming precisely what requires to be proved when it is taken for granted that that question was the center of controversy on the occasion to which Acts refers. Acts 15:21 gives a wholly different reason for the rules of vss. 20 and 29. It implies that the practices named were specially offensive in the eyes of the members of the synagogue where the law of Moses was read every Sabbath, and that therefore participation in them by Gentile Christians would render Christianity odious in the eyes of the Jews of the synagogue. For this reason, in the interest of the conversion of the Jews of the synagogue to Christianity—not at all as a basis of table fellowship in Christian churches of mixed membership—Gentile Christians were urged to abstain from these practices. Urged on this ground Paul himself could not and would not have objected to such abstinence. Not a word is said about table fellowship. Even the utmost implications of Acts 15:29 pertain only to the conduct of the Gentiles in respect to food, not to that of the Jews, or the condition of table fellowship in the church. But with the elimination of this intruded element the argument loses its main support.

We are constrained to conclude therefore that Professor Bacon's argument, while sufficient to show that Acts exaggerates the authoritativeness of the Jerusalem action, is inadequate to sustain the weight of his theory in general, either as respects the separation of Acts 15:13–35 from vss. 1–9, and the largely unhistorical character of the former, or as respects the source of Acts and the method of the author. Whether the whole of this incident should be placed before Acts 13, 14, is in part a separate question requiring discussion by itself.

Adoption among the Babylonians

Ina-Uruk-rimat adopts Edirtum, paying seven shekels of gold for her. If she give her to a husband or if she make a devotee of her, she may not reduce her to slavery. If she reduce her to slavery, she (the adopted daughter)

may return to her father's house. As long as Ina-Uruk-rimat lives, Edirtum shall obey (lit. fear) her. When Ina-Uruk-rimat dies, Edirtum, her daughter, shall pour out a libation of water for her.

This quotation from an adoption-document from the Cassite Period, *ca.* 1350 B. C., published by D. D. Luckenbill in an article in the July number of *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, throws new light on the motive for adoption among the Babylonians. From the adoption documents hitherto known, the conclusion invariably drawn was that the Babylonians adopted children, paying their parents a reasonable price for them, in order to procure cheap labor. But if this had been the motive, it would have been better to buy slaves, since the price paid was the same in either case. Except in the case of native Babylonian slaves, who could not be sold to a foreigner, slaves were the property of their masters and could be used at home, hired out, or sold, as their masters saw fit. But an adopted child could not be sent away penniless, nor excluded from the inheritance; in fact, he was entitled to one-third of a son's share of personal property, in case his adopted father "set his face to cut him off."[1]

It is a well-known fact that the Egyptians made very extensive preparations for the hereafter. In the earliest graves we find vessels for food and drink. It was customary from the earliest times for the son, or wife, or brother to look after the grave of the departed, and place thereby a loaf of bread and a pot of beer. Later very specific contracts were made with certain priests to take care of the tombs and perform the necessary rites and ceremonies.[2] The tomb of one of the sons of King Kafre of the fourth dynasty was endowed with the revenues of twelve towns.

The ancient Greeks and Romans were just as careful to keep their names from dying out, and the *sacra* of the family from being neglected. In case a man was childless, legal adoption of one or more sons was the only safe course to follow. We find very specific laws of adoption in both Greece and Rome.[3]

Our knowledge of Babylonian customs and beliefs with regard to the dead is rather scant. If we are justified in concluding, from the document quoted above, that the desire to have someone to perform the customary rites and ceremonies for the dead was one of the motives for adoption, we see that the Babylonians were concerned about their future life and made provision for it.

[1] Cf. R. F. Harper, *The Code of Hammurabi, s v.* "Slavery."

[2] Cf. Breasted, "The Contracts of Hepzefi," *Ancient Records*, I, pp 258 ff.

[3] Cf. Pauly, *Real-Encycl.*, I, pp. 395 f.

Exploration and Discovery

The following excerpt from a personal letter from Professor Breasted, who is now in Berlin, will be of great interest to all Bible students:

I cannot forbear adding a word on the surprising discovery which I was permitted to hear as presented to the Royal Academy by Sachau, the day I took my seat there for the first time last week. Among Aramaic papyri found on the Island of Elephantine at the foot of the First Cataract opposite Aswan by Dr. Rubensohn last winter is a perfectly preserved letter written on both sides of a sheet of papyrus, about 9 x 12 inches, in good Aramaic. It was addressed by the high-priest of the temple of Jehovah on Elephantine to the Persian governor of Palestine in the fourteenth year of Darius II (410 B. C.), complaining to him that the high-priest of the Egyptian god Khnum at Elephantine has, during a revolt against Persia, taken advantage of the opportunity to destroy the temple of Jehovah on Elephantine, which the Hebrews there had been permitted to build by the Egyptian kings before the Persians took Egypt, that is before 525 B. C. Sanballat is mentioned. Found with the letter is a long list of Hebrew names, each followed by a numeral giving an amount in shekels: 1 shekel, 3 shekels, 5 shekels, or the like. This is probably a subscription list for the rebuilding of the temple, for undertaking which the above letter asks permission and support. The surprising fact (already known to us from the papyri discovered at this same place in 1904) is revealed that the generation immediately succeeding Jeremiah built a temple in the remotest corner of Egypt, even though the orthodox faith of Jeremiah's time regarded Jerusalem as the sole legal site for the temple of Jehovah. Isa. 19:18 predicts that in five places in Egypt Jehovah shall be worshiped. There may have been other temples of Jehovah in Egypt then, and the passage in Isaiah will have been a gloss inserted in their defense (?). Why does not such a letter as this deserve a place in the Old Testament as much as the Persian documents in the later books? What we hope for now is a fragment of some Old Testament book, as the site is by no means cleared. I visited the excavations there in March. The Germans had quietly left, saying nothing of their find. The French, who have a concession of one-half of the site, were still at work under a young subordinate. Clermont-Ganneau, who had hoped especially for Aramaic documents (they have been found there before), had been in command but he had left, having found none. The final fact of interest is that the foundations (or if finally rebuilt, some of the structure itself) of this temple of Jehovah must still lie beneath the ruins on the site. Excavation, therefore, may disclose the only surviving temple of Jehovah and the only one known outside of Jerusalem.

In an article which is to be published in the forthcoming *William Rainey Harper Memorial* volumes, Professor Breasted, Director of the

Egyptian Section of The Oriental Exploration Fund of the University of Chicago, gives an account of "A New Temple and Town of Ikhnaton in Nubia." This temple of Sesebi is situated at the foot of the First Cataract of the Nile in the heart of the most inaccessible region of Nubia. The place was visited, among others, by Calliand in 1821 and by Lepsius in 1844. Budge visited it in 1905 with a view to excavation, which, however, was not undertaken. Professor Breasted spent two days there in 1907. He was able, during his brief stay there, to discover that this temple was not built by Seti I, but only appropriated by him.

After a description of the reliefs of Seti I (with numerous cuts) Professor Breasted writes:

In this rapid survey of Seti I's reliefs the reader will probably have been disturbed by intrusive figures. There is a noticeably intrusive symbol on all three columns. It generally breaks into the royal ovals of Seti I, and is so large that it may be seen at a distance. I refer to the deeply cut disk at the top in the center of Seti's reliefs. Beginning to make a record of Seti's reliefs I first attacked the southern column. I was immediately greatly puzzled by this disk. It seemed to have been cut after Seti's inscriptions, as it so sharply interrupts them. But, when I considered its position on the other columns, and perceived that it was in all three cases in the middle of the side facing the middle aisle, I conjectured that it was one of the deeply cut sun-disks appearing at the top in the middle of Ikhnaton's adoration scenes, and that such scenes had once stood where we now find those of Seti I. I added the mental reservation that I would never be able to prove the conjecture, and would never think of publishing it. This was during the first five minutes of work. I went on with an examination of the southern column. Having passed from the figure of Amon at the right, to that of the other supposed divinity standing behind him, I was endeavoring to discern the head, when I was suddenly confronted by the familiar outlines of Ikhnaton's figure, dimly discernible through the barbarous chisel marks of intentional expunction. All the peculiar and unmistakable lines were there. I glanced at the other columns, now knowing where to look and what to look for. He was there on all the others also. These were palimpsest columns and this was a temple of the great revolutionary, the first and only one known in Nubia. Indeed, they were then the only surviving monuments of his thus far discovered in Nubia. Furthermore, no other columns of the great heretic anywhere, whether in Egypt or Nubia, have escaped destruction. It is therefore imperative to demonstrate beyond all doubt that he was their builder and the author of the reliefs, over which those of Seti I have been superimposed. . . . .

After a careful study of the southern column, he continues:

When this column was appropriated by Seti I, his sculptors chiseled out the reliefs of Ikhnaton as far as possible, but the royal figures and especially the sun-disk were too deeply cut to be completely erased, while some of the smaller

things, like the titles of Ikhnaton's queen, were overlooked or neglected. When the work of erasure and destruction was complete, the defaced surface of the column was filled out, patched, and smoothed with stucco. The reliefs of Seti were then sculptured upon this new surface, partially in the hard stucco patching, partially in the sandstone of the column. Fresh coloring over the whole concealed the stucco patching, and the fraud was only discernible when the colors had disappeared and the weather of centuries had loosened all the stucco till the last vestige of it had fallen out, carrying with it large portions of Seti's reliefs and inscriptions and in places causing their complete disappearance. Thus it is that his cartouches, or the name of his god, are now cut into by Ikhnaton's sun-disk, producing the impression that the sun-disk is a later insertion, defacing the reliefs of Seti I. Likewise the figure of Seti himself generally falls almost directly over that of Ikhnaton, so that his *dis*appearance, when the stucco fell out involved the *re*appearance of Ikhnaton's form. It is important to recall, at this point, that in Egypt, it is precisely Seti I who so often records his restoration of the iconoclastic work of Ikhnaton. It is therefore just what we should expect, when we find him here undoing the work of Ikhnaton in Nubia. . . . .

In summing up the history of the temple, Professor Breasted says:

It is quite evident that we have here a colonnaded temple hall, of which the original author was the great revolutionary Ikhnaton. His reliefs show every characteristic of his monotheistic period, and it cannot be doubted that the building was a sun-temple built by him, the only one from this remarkable man's reign of which any portion is still standing. His reign, after the inauguration of his solar monotheism, continued only ten to twelve years, and in such remote and inaccessible regions of Nubia, it is inconceivable that he could have in so short a time, erected any number of temples to his exclusive god. The reader will recall also that in the inscriptions just one sanctuary of Aton in Nubia is known to us. In the itinerary of King Nastesen, given on his Berlin stela, dating not long after 525 B. C., a town called Gm-Ytn is visited by the king. Schaefer had located this town in the vicinity of the Third Cataract, on the basis of the references to it by Nastesen. Not long after this the present writer called attention to the fact that in a Theban tomb the sun-temple of Ikhnaton at Thebes bears the name Gm-Ytn. It immediately became evident that the Nubian Gm-Ytn must have been a sun-city and sanctuary founded and named by Ikhnaton, a foundation like that of el-Amarna, its purpose in Nubia being of course like that of el-Amarna in Egypt. When one recalls, that without any prepossessions as to the character or origin of the place, Schaefer located it in the vicinity of the Third Cataract, and that we have now found a sun-temple of Ikhnaton at the foot of the Third Cataract, it becomes evident that our newly found sun-temple of Sesebi is the ancient Gm-Ytn. . . . .

The origin of the place is therefore evident and in the main its early history clear. Ikhnaton (Amenhotep IV) in his unparalleled religious revolution about

1370 B. C., sought to bring his whole empire under the dominion of one god. As the new religious and political capital in Egypt he founded Akhet-Aton (Tell el-Amarna). But the same must be done for the foreign possessions of the empire, adjacent Asia and Nubia. . . . .

In Nubia he erected at the foot of the Third Cataract our temple, now called Sesebi, and built with it a walled town. He named the place Gem-Aton (Gm-Yton), after the sanctuary of his god Aton, already existent at Thebes. The religious character of the place, as a seat of the sun-god Aton, was thus made evident in the name. At the fall of Ikhnaton the Aton-temple at Amarna, as well as all the other Aton-sanctuaries throughout Egypt were destroyed, and the fragments have occasionally been found built into temples of Ikhnaton's successors. In distant Nubia, however, the temple of Gem-Aton was at a safe remove from the wrath of Ikhnaton's enemies. It escaped the first outburst, and survived through the reign of Harmhab. The people continued to call it Gem-Aton, and fifty years after the death of Ikhnaton, the officials of Seti I found it, still bearing its heretical reliefs and inscriptions, representing the now deserted Ikhnaton and his queen, worshiping Aton in his temple. But they did not destroy it as in Egypt. Here, as at the neighboring Soleb, they hacked out the hated sculptures of the heretic, and covering up all trace of them with stucco, they wrought new sculptures on the columns and walls, depicting Seti I worshiping Amon. The place then became a temple of Aton's rival Amon. Its new official name we do not know. The people still continued to call it Gem-Aton. Long afterward, when the odium attaching to this name was forgotten, it gained recognition as the official name of the place. In the reign of Tirhaka, nearly seven hundred years after Ikhnaton's revolution, we find the town still mentioned, and its god was then officially called "Amon of Gem-Aton." Nearly a thousand years after its foundation by Ikhnaton, Amon, the god whom he so hated, was still worshiped there under the same name. From that time on we know nothing of the city or temple. When it fell into disuse after the Christianization of the country, the temple became a quarry for the neighboring kinglet. Thus the only surviving temple of Ikhnaton has been reduced to three columns, and their battered and weathered records are all that we possess to give us a hint of the unique origin of the place. What secrets of the world's first monotheist still lie hidden there, remain for the spade of the future excavator, who may penetrate into this inaccessible region.

Book Reviews

The Bible as English Literature. By J. H. GARDINER. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1906. Pp. xi+402. $1.50 net.

Few of those writers who have commented upon the lofty and inimitable style of the English Bible have undertaken to analyze the causes of this style, or to apply to the subject the methods and results of modern criticism. Some of those few, in a laudable attempt to popularize the study of the Bible as literature, have gone too far in the application of modern literary forms to the Old Testament poetry. Professor Gardiner brings to his task an acquaintance with the accepted results of historical criticism and instead of rhapsodizing upon a few selected passages of rhythmical scripture, he investigates the complex sources of that literary charm which it is easier to praise than to understand. Separating the biblical forms into narrative, poetry, wisdom, prophecy, apocalypse, and epistle, he shows how the spirit of simplicity and earnestness animates all, while the Hebrew character, the concreteness of the Semitic vocabulary, and the loose Semitic syntax contribute to the rhythm and the vividness of a translation into any language. Such familiar discriminations as that between the narrative style of J, P, and D, hitherto applied only to the technical processes of criticism, are here made to illuminate the diverse characteristics of Old Testament narrative in English. Likewise, the reflection in English of the literary differences between the earlier and the later prophets is shown to be not only in the denotation of words but in those subtler connotations that even to the unlearned reader separate Amos from Ezekiel.

The latter chapters are devoted to the literary origins and characteristics of the King James Bible. The author belongs to that class of writers who admit the superior scholarship of the revisers but disparage the literary quality of their version; and the whole book is based upon the King James text. No specifications are given to support this familiar charge against the translation now used by all scholars. It would be interesting to see if the author could add to the small list of actual literary blunders in the revision any new examples. However, since he declines to argue the question, any criticism at this point is evidently unwarranted. In tracing the history of the earlier English Versions he gives unusual and deserved prominence to Tindal, but slights Wyclif. While Tindal declared that he "had no man to counterfet, nether was holpe with englysshe of eny that had interpreted the same," any reader may compare for himself in the English Hexapla a chapter or two of the New Testament in Wyclif

and Tindal and decide whether Professor Gardiner is warranted in his sweeping assertion that Wyclif's version, "it is almost certain, contributed nothing to our present English Bible." That Tindal translated from the original, not only in his New Testament but in his Pentateuch, is now well established; but the phrases of Wyclif stuck in his memory, and he could no more avoid echoing them than the revisers could help using his own and Coverdale's rhythms, whether they would or not.

As for the psychological reasons for the mysterious sensuous charm of the biblical rhythms and vocalic harmonies, to which all the greatest English prose writers owe much of their inspiration, Professor Gardiner has many suggestive comments. In some examples he traces out the prose meters and the succession of open vowels and liquid consonants, which the English Bible possesses in larger measure than any other translation except perhaps the Vulgate. More of this analysis would be decidedly worth while. If this essay leads a larger number of students both of literature and of theology to study that grand style of Tindal and his followers instead of trying to patronize it, the effect will be salutary both upon their appreciation of literature and upon their own work in prose composition.

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The Fourth Gospel: Its Purpose and Theology. By ERNEST F. SCOTT. ("The Literature of the New Testament.") Edinburgh: T. &. T. Clark, 1906; New York: imported by Charles Scribner's Sons. Pp. x+379. $2 net.

Mr. Scott has written a book which no student of the New Testament can afford to neglect. One may not accept its theory of the Fourth Gospel, but he cannot fail to be touched by the remarkable freshness and suggestiveness of the discussion, the sympathetic Christian spirit everywhere manifest, and the winning simplicity of the presentation.

The author assumes "the results of the critical investigation" which usually precedes a treatise on biblical theology. These results, for his book, are "that which is now generally accepted by continental scholars" (p. v). Incidental statements introduced into the book, without which the reader would hardly understand the author's point of view, indicate something of the details of these results: "The gospel is a unity from first to last" (p. 85); that the author was by birth a Jew "is an almost certain inference" (p. 75); yet the gospel is the message of an "unknown disciple" (p. 376), and we face "our ignorance of the authorship of the work and of

the immediate occasion which called it forth" (p. 353), except that it was "in all probability" written at Ephesus (p. 79), and may be assigned "with a fair degree of certainty" to the first or second decade of the second century (p. 4). Accordingly, the "eyewitness" authorship, "in its literal sense," cannot be substantiated. At the same time, the gospel is the result of a "deliberate artistic purpose" (p. 18); even "the picturesque detail in John's narrative can be set down, not to the accurate memory of the eyewitness, but to the fine instinct of the literary artist" (p. 19); so that the entire production is "no simple, spontaneous utterance . . . . but a work of elaborate art" (pp. 26, 27). And this position concerning the authorship is safe because "it may be taken for granted that the external evidence is not sufficient to warrant a decisive verdict on either side; and any further discussion even of the critical problem must concern itself mainly with the gospel itself" (p. vi).

It will be seen, therefore, that Mr. Scott has not given us the teaching of Jesus; he has offered an interpretation of "the elaborate theological gospel" (p. 371), which is "a work of transition, in which primitive Christianity is carried over into a different world of thought" (p. 4). For the author of the gospel, naturally, then, "the import of the fact is always more valuable than the fact itself" (p. 3). He gave us a definite statement of his purpose in writing the gospel (20:31); this "does not, however, cover the whole purpose of the gospel. It arose . . . . out of the immediate life and needs of the early church; and . . . . the religious aim is combined with a more practical one" (p. 23). This practical aim was apologetic—on the one hand, a covert polemic against Judaism, against the followers of John the Baptist, and against "incipient Gnosticism" (pp. 65–103); on the other, an ecclesiastical propaganda, so that "a whole region of John's thinking becomes intelligible only when we take account of this ecclesiastical interest which underlies his gospel" (p. 25). For the accomplishment of such a purpose the materials were directly at hand: "Three main influences are everywhere traceable in the gospel—the synoptic tradition, the writings of Paul, the Alexandrian philosophy." These the author borrowed "for the most part [as] rude material;" out of them he made a gift of "spirit and life" (p. 30).

In the more strictly theological portions of the book the treatment is hardly less interesting and suggestive. The Logos; "the Christ, the Son of God;" the work of Christ; life, and its communication; the return of Christ; and the Holy Spirit, are the topics that receive attention. Only a reading of the work itself can give any adequate idea of the interpretation of the gospel which is here offered.

Perhaps the most striking feature of Mr. Scott's treatment is his recurrent insistence on the contrasts which he finds in the gospel. "Nearly every sentence in the gospel might be paralleled with another which appears to indicate a view of different tenor" (p. 12); the gospel is "a book of contrasts, of seeming contradictions" (p. 27). In each topic touched by the author of the gospel Mr. Scott finds this contrast. There is "the double relation" (p. 101), "the dual character of John's thinking" (p. 138), the "two parallel interpretations" (p. 174), the "two aspects, which are radically distinct" (p. 205), the "attempt to reconcile two ideas which are in their very nature disparate" (p. 264), "a metaphysic which in itself is alien to the Christian teaching" (p. 319); "in every part of the gospel we can discover two lines of thinking, apparently brought together, but in reality parallel and distinct" (p. 367).

Attractive as the presentation is, it suggests criticism. Details must be passed by, however, for there is space only to touch the main thesis. As to this, one feels that *altogether too much* has been found in the gospel. An author who could produce such a work as Mr. Scott finds in the Fourth Gospel must have been at once the incarnation of ingenuousness and of literary and theological genius. The assumption seems too great; the bridge to the "unknown" appears to be likely to break from its own weight. Merely to preserve such "contrasts," whether consciously or unconsciously, in a unique whole, would have been a herculean task. And the strangest thing about the situation would be that the gospel is the only trace of himself which such an author has left to the world. He was able to produce a unique theological work, to combine apparent simplicity with transcendent theological insight and shrewdness; but he was able to do this only once, or to do it, and then, as the supreme mark of his genius, to hide himself forever.

The possibility is fascinating, but is it more than a possibility? One still wonders whether the last word has been said about the external evidence; whether the finding of such a transcendent "unknown" for the author of the Fourth Gospel may not contribute indirectly toward identifying him once more with the son of Zebedee, if not for the gospel as it stands, at least for its substance.

Perhaps it is best to take Mr. Scott as he has taken John (whether rightly remains to be seen)—a combination of streams of thought which can hardly be harmonized, and which leads to inconsistencies of thinking and direct contradictions of expression, as, e. g., in his treatment of "Life" on pages 258 and 294.

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History of Ancient Civilization. By CHARLES SEIGNOBOS. Translated and edited by ARTHUR HERBERT WILDE. New York: Scribner, 1906. Pp. 373. $1.25 net.

The writer of general history and of the history of civilization encounters two serious obstacles. In the first place, he must out of the bewildering maze of facts select those that are central and all-inclusive. In the second place, he must weave these facts into a story that will interpret and interest. Facts amount to nothing if we do not know what they mean, and cannot apply this meaning in our individual and social life. In a word, the writer of general history and of the history of cvilization must have critical acumen, generalizing power, and facile expression. The combination is not ordinary, and this explains how it is that some of our works on general history are either dry-as-dust or entirely untrustworthy.

In the work before us Professor Seignobos, we think, meets these requirements with a degree of success that is altogether unusual. His association with Langlois in the introduction to historical studies, and his own studies in various periods of history, gave him the facts. Nature and experience combined to give him the power to criticize and interpret them. His practical interest in the secondary schools no doubt aided him in the very necessary work of simplification. The result is the most satisfactory history of civilization that has yet appeared. The present work is only the first part, or ancient civilization. It treats of the origin of civilization; history and the records; the ancient history of the East—Egypt, Assyria, Babylonia, the Aryans of India, the Phoenicians; and of the Greeks and Romans.

Much attention is given to religion, laws, and the arts. In short, sweeping, living, illuminating paragraphs the author carries us along the course of man's development from its beginnings to the time of Theodosius in 391 A. D. The book will interest scholars and general readers, and be especially prized in secondary schools.

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New Literature

OLD TESTAMENT

BOOKS

MARTI, KARL. The Religion of the Old Testament: Its Place among the Religions of the Nearer East. [Crown Theological Library, Vol. XIX.] New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1907. Pp. vii+251.

An interesting and suggestive sketch, giving a bird's-eye view of the development of Israel's religion in its relation to other religions of Western Asia. The point of view is that of the historical school of which Marti is a leading representative.

FINDLAY, G. C. The Books of the Prophets in Their Historical Succession. Vol. II. The First Isaiah to Nahum. [Books for Bible Students. Edited by A. E. Gregory, D.D.] London: Chas. Kelly, 1907. Pp. xv+199. *2s. 6d.*

This volume is devoted to Isa. 1–39 and the book of Nahum. The treatment is expository and historical, and the book is well adapted to the needs of intelligent laymen for whom it is intended.

WORKMAN, G. C. The Servant of Jehovah, or The Passion-Prophecy of Scripture Analysed and Elucidated. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1907. Pp. xxvi+250. *5s.*

This interpretation of the prophecies concerning the Suffering Servant should obtain wide reading. It is sane and spiritual. The treatment is scholarly, but not technical; thus the book will be found interesting and instructive by all who are concerned for such things.

BEECHING, H. C., and ALEXANDER NAIRNE. The Bible Doctrine of Atonement. [Six Lectures Given in Westminster Abbey.] New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1907. Pp. xiii+110. $1.00.

Three of these lectures trace the idea of atonement as it appears in the Old Testament, and three treat the New Testament aspects of the subject. The treatment is popular, but in touch with the results of modern investigation.

JEREMIAS, A. Die Panbabylonisten. Der alte Orient und die aegyptische Religion. [Im Kampfe um den Alten Orient. Wehr- und Streitschriften, herausgegeben von A. Jeremias und H. Winckler.] Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1907. Pp. 65. M.–.80.

Jeremias and Winckler herewith start a series of pamphlets intended to demonstrate the essential truth of the view that the entire Semitic family was permeated by certain great, common conceptions of God and the world, and that the religion of Israel forms no exception to this general law. In this first brochure Jeremias undertakes to point out the elements in the religion of Egypt that are common to the entire Semitic Orient.

WINCKLER, H. Die jüngsten Kämpfer wider den Panbabylonismus. [Im Kampfe um den alten Orient; u. s. w.] Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1907. Pp. 79. M. 1.

Winckler's treatise, belonging to the same series as the foregoing and having the same purpose, is a polemic against the opponents of his views in general, and against Gressmann and Küchler in particular.

ARTICLES

BEKEL, H. Ein vorexilisches Orakel über Edom in der Klageliederstrophe—die gemeinsame Quelle von Obadja 1–9, und Jeremia 49:7–22. Ein Beitrag zur Lösung des Verwandtschaftsproblems in beiden Texten. *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, April, 1907. Pp. 315–43.

On the basis of the verbatim similarities between the book of Obadiah and Jer., chap. 49, Bekel attempts to reconstruct an original prophecy from which both of the fragments now at hand were derived. His original is a fusion of the fragments in Jeremiah with those in Obadiah. The original oracle was spoken by Jeremiah, but worked over at a later time in view of new offenses on the part of Edom. The study is clever but not convincing.

NEW TESTAMENT

BOOKS

SPITTA, FRIEDRICH. Streitfragen der Geschichte Jesu. Göttingen: Vandenboeck & Ruprecht, 1907.

The points of controversy taken up are the conflicting representations of the Synoptics as to the scenes of Jesus' labors, the conversation of Jesus with his disciples at Bethsaida (Mark 8:27 ff.), Jesus' saying as to David's Son and David's Lord, and Christ as the Lamb.

RESCH, ALFRED. Agrapha; Aussercanonische Schriftfragmente gesammelt und untersucht. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1906. Texte und Untersuchungen, N. F., XV, 3–4. Pp. xvi+426. M. 10.

This corpus of extra-canonical sayings of Jesus, first published in 1889, now appears again, much enlarged by recent discoveries and researches, and fully indexed.

RAGG, L. and L. The Gospel of Barnabas. Edited and translated from the Italian MS in the Imperial Library at Vienna. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1907. Pp. lxxix+500. 16 *s.*net.

This curious gospel, of Mohammedan color, has, for upward of two centuries, been known to exist in an Italian and a Spanish manuscript. The latter has disappeared; from the former the gospel is now published with a full translation. The work was probably composed in Italian, in the fourteenth, or possibly as late as the sixteenth century.

ARTICLES

CORSSEN, P. Die Abschiedsreden Jesu in dem vierten Evangelium. *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, Vol. VIII, No. 2, 1907. Pp. 125–42.

The difficult words, "Arise, let us go hence" in John 14:31, standing in the midst of the farewell discourse of Jesus, are explained as an interpolation influenced by Mark 14:42. and one of Wellhausen's arguments against the unity of the discourse is thus set aside.

KREYENBÜHL, J. Der Apostel Paulus und die Urgemeinde. I. *Ibid*, Pp. 81–109.

A study of Paul's relations to the Jerusalem church and its pillars.

STRONG, A. H. Systematic Theology, Vol. I: The Doctrine of God. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1907. Pp. xvii+370. $2.50 net.

The new and enlarged edition of Dr. Strong's *Theology* presents a dynamical theory of inspiration, holding Christ himself, however, to be the sole ultimate authority. Illustration, anecdote, and opinion are gathered from a wide range of literature to enforce Dr. Strong's well-ordered propositions.

RELATED SUBJECTS

BOOKS

HARNACK, ADOLF. Luke, the Physician the Author of the Third Gospel and the Acts of the Apostles. (New Testament Studies, I.) Translated by J. R. Wilkinson; edited by W. D. Morrison. (Crown Theological Library.) New York: Putnam's, 1907. Pp. viii+231.

This English form of Harnack's important book will be widely welcomed. Christian tradition, Harnack holds, as a whole took its essential form between 30 and 70 A. D., on the soil of Palestine.

GOODSPEED, E. J. Index Patristicus, sive Clavis Patrum Apostolicorum Operum. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1907. Pp. viii+262. M. 3.80; geb., M. 4.80.

A concise and exhaustive index of all the Greek and Latin words and forms, in the Apostolic Fathers, designed as an aid to lexical and historical studies.

ARTICLES

MCGIFFERT, A. C. Mysticism in the Early Church. *American Journal of Theology*, July, 1907. Pp. 407–27.

Beginning with Paul, as the earliest of Christian mystics, Professor McGiffert traces mysticism in John, Ignatius, the Gnostics, and in different senses, the Montanists and Irenaeus.

MACINTOSH, D. C. The Significance of Gnosticism in the Development of Christian Theology, with Special Reference to the "Pistis Sophia." *The Review and Expositor*, July, 1907 Pp. 405–22.

A keen but sympathetic criticism of the theological method of the Gnostics.



THE LINE OF NEHEMIAH'S NORTH WALL

THE BIBLICAL WORLD

VOLUME XXX OCTOBER, 1907 NUMBER 4

Editorial

THE TRAINING OF SUNDAY-SCHOOL TEACHERS

THE DEMAND FOR TRAINED TEACHERS

It is a hopeful sign for the future of religious education that more than ever before earnest and intelligent attention is being given to the training of Sunday-school teachers. The Sunday school, it is recognized, has reached such a degree of efficiency as entitles it to an intelligently constructed curriculum, suitable apparatus of instruction, and teachers who have knowledge of the subject and training for their work.

THE REQUISITES OF GOOD TEACHING

What are the qualifications for such work? We have no hesitation in replying that the first requisite of a good teacher is Christian character. The work of the Sunday school, all the work of religious education, is directed to the production of character. And the most effective force that the teacher can bring to his work is character in himself. Like begets like in moral biology as surely as in the physical and intellectual realm.

In the second place, the teacher must have a genuine love for his pupils and for his work. Work done in the spirit of a hireling is poor work everywhere, but nowhere more so than in religious teaching. Even arithmetic is poorly taught by a teacher who has no interest in his pupils or his work. But in religious education that teacher is practically useless who does not bring to his work a genuine interest in the highest welfare of his pupils and a deep desire to do them good. Such interest and desire not only give insight and tact, but directly tend to produce like qualities in the pupil and so to develop in him the character which it is the teacher's highest task to produce.

If we would have really successful teachers we must somewhere before, or in, or after the training sift out the morally incompetent and select for the work of religious teaching those who have purity and strength of character, and a genuine love for those who are to be taught and for the work of teaching.

To these as the qualities of first importance we may add with equal confidence knowledge of the subject. Our schools of education and teachers' colleges are no doubt learning and teaching many things that a previous generation did not know about educational processes. But they have not discovered and never will discover anything that will take the place of thorough knowledge of his subject on the part of the teacher. Professor Münsterberg, discussing the effectiveness of the German schools as compared with those of other countries, ascribes it first of all to the fact that the teacher in the German *Gymnasia* are men who have a full scholarly knowledge of the subjects which they teach. They live not from hand to mouth, but draw each day out of the full stores of their knowledge. There is not less need of knowledge in religious education. If the Bible is to be the textbook of the Sunday school, those who are to be teachers must know the Bible. If they are to teach religion they must know what religion is, and something about how it is normally developed in the life of a child.

Given then these things, and there may well be added a training in principles and methods of teaching, and in the technique of the Sunday school. To the teacher who is possessed of character, of that aptness to teach that comes from love of the work, and of a thorough knowledge of the Bible, especially of the portion which he is to teach, a knowledge of the most approved methods of instruction and of Sunday-school management is a very valuable equipment, giving greatly increased efficiency in his work. Will it be said that we are thus relegating to the place of least importance the things that should have been named as most important? Not, certainly, with justice. Good teachers never were made merely or chiefly by training in the technique of the profession. Success in educational work, whatever may be true of the mechanical arts, rests on something more vital than technical knowledge and pedagogy. Character and knowledge of the subject to be taught count for far more than technique.

THE SUPPLY OF THE DEMAND

But how can the necessary instruction either in the Bible or in psychology or in the methods of teaching be given to the teachers who are obtainable for work in the Sunday school? Fortunately there is an increasing number of young women, and it may be added a very few young men, who are obtaining this needful training either in college or in such training-schools as that at Hartford. But the number thus supplied is inadequate. For the most part instruction must be provided in the teacher's home city, and either by the church in which he works, or by a group of co-operating churches, or by correspondence. In any case the responsibility for instruction or the direction of it will fall in a great majority of cases upon the pastor. And since the necessary training cannot be given in a single year, there must be provided a curriculum of several years' instruction. What shall this curriculum include?

SUGGESTIONS FOR A CURRICULUM

Character and love of the work no curriculum can produce. They must have been generated by the influences of home and school and personal choice, many of them acting silently and unnoticed, before the specific preparation for teaching is begun. Training may do something to strengthen and develop them—it cannot create them. The first thing therefore with which the curriculum proper must concern itself is knowledge of the Bible. And since nothing is more needful for the teacher than broad and general, but real knowledge of the Bible as a whole, the first year of the curriculum may very profitably be devoted to a study of the different periods of biblical history, of the different portions of the Bible, of the different kinds of literature which are included within it, and of the purpose and spirit of the whole. Within the last few years excellent textbooks for such courses have been provided, and it is not beyond the bounds of possibility that within the space of a single year the teachers in the Sunday schools, or those who are in preparation for teaching, should acquire this fundamental knowledge. Two excellent books for such a course are the volume written by Miss Chamberlin, entitled *An Introduction to the Bible for Teachers*, published by the University of Chicago Press, and the volume by Hazard and Fowler, *The Books*

of the Bible with Relation to Their Place in History, published by the Congregational Sunday School and Publishing Society.

Of scarcely less importance in the preparation of the teacher for his task is a course of instruction upon the nature of religion in general, the essential features of the Christian religion in particular, and the way in which the religious life of children is normally developed. If this instruction is to be given in the form of lectures, the lecturer must himself be possessed of considerable knowledge of psychology, especially the psychology of religion, the nature of the child, and the natural stages of his development. Yet the lectures should be very simple and untechnical, presenting results rather than processes and abundantly illustrated from the experiences which all the hearers would themselves have passed through or have observed in others. With the discussion of these most fundamental matters might be associated some consideration of the practical problems of the teacher, methods of teaching, etc. For the preparation of such a course of lectures, such books as King, *Psychology of Child Development;* Coe, *Education in Religion and Morals* and *The Spiritual Life;* Koons, *The Child's Religious Life;* Brumbaugh, *The Making of a Teacher*, and many of the addresses printed in the *Proceedings of the Religious Education Association*, would be found useful. If asked for a textbook that could be placed in the hands of the pupils, in training to become teachers, we should be unable at present to name any entirely satisfactory book. Such a course might possibly be carried on parallel to the one on the Bible suggested above, but would more probably demand a second year.

Yet it cannot but be evident that even these two courses of instruction are inadequate to prepare the teacher for thoroughly efficient teaching. For to such general knowledge of the Bible as can be acquired by the first of the above-named courses, and of religion and the teaching of it such as might be gained by the second, it is highly desirable that there should be added courses leading the teacher into a more thorough knowledge of the particular subjects that he is to teach. It is obviously impracticable to conduct training-classes corresponding to each of the grades of the school, from kindergarten to the college age. Nor is this needful. Something must always be left to the teacher himself. But it is desirable that a course for

teachers should be offered upon the three great divisions of the biblical curriculum, the Old Testament, the life of Christ, and the apostolic age. No subject is oftener made the basis of instruction in the Sunday school than the life of Christ. If in every school there were a body of teachers thoroughly prepared to teach this subject we should have assurance that one subject at least, and that the most important of the whole course of study, would be competently taught.

By a course on this subject continuing through nine months, and so conducted as to enable the members of the class to acquire a thorough and sympathetic knowledge of the life and the central teachings of Jesus, the pastor will accomplish at least three things: he will confer upon the members of his class a spiritual benefit, and by this means fit them to be better Sunday-school teachers; he will lead them to the acquisition of a thorough knowledge of a portion of the Bible; he will, insensibly to themselves, set before them an ideal and a method of study and of teaching which will elevate the tone of their own teaching, whether of the gospels or of any other portion of the Bible. Similar results may be accomplished by courses upon the Old Testament and the apostolic age.

It is evident that such a curriculum as we have roughly outlined means continuous work year after year. Not all the teaching can be done by the pastor. Not many teachers can take the full course. Not all the courses can be given every year. If perhaps the pastor can give the first two courses in alternate years and other competent teachers be procured to give the other three on a three-year cycle, often this is all that will be practicable. But nothing can conduce more to the elevation of the work of the Sunday school and the strengthening of its influence for good than precisely such a continuous series of courses by which there will be raised up a body of teachers for the Sunday school. The pastor who conducts or secures the conducting of such a course of instruction will be producing not indeed highly trained specialists, but a goodly body of men and women who will be in a measure fitted for the work of teaching in the Sunday school and for parental instruction at home.

JERUSALEM IN BIBLE TIMES

PROFESSOR LEWIS BAYLES PATON, PH.D.
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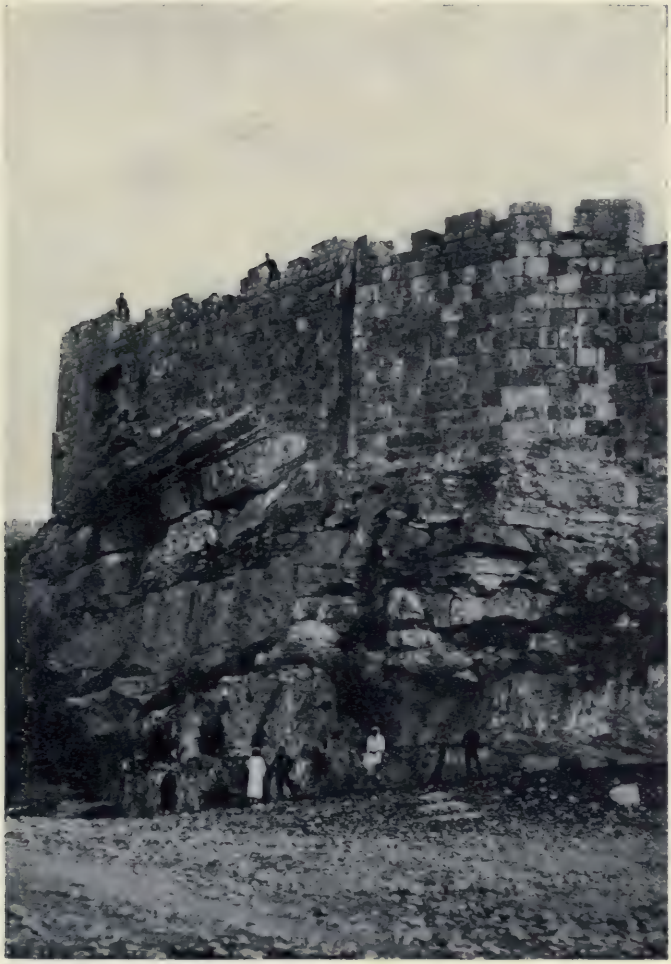
X. NEHEMIAH'S WALL

The best account of the wall of Jerusalem as enlarged by Hezekiah and Manasseh and as rebuilt by Nehemiah, is found in the third chapter of the Book of Nehemiah, where we are told in regular order how this wall was portioned out between the inhabitants of Jerusalem and was repaired by them. This account is supplemented by the narrative of Nehemiah's night ride in Neh. 2:12–15, and of the procession of the Levites in Neh. 12:27–40. In this latter narrative the Levites start at the Valley Gate at the southwest corner of the city, half of them proceeding along the south wall to the Temple, the other half along the north wall to the Temple.

1. *The Sheep Gate.*—The account of the rebuilding of the wall in Neh. 3:1 begins with the statement that Eliashib, the high-priest, and the priests built the Sheep Gate. To this point the narrative returns in 3:32 with the account of the completion of the wall. According to 12:39, it was the last point passed by the northern company of Levites before they met their brethren in the court of the Temple. It must, therefore, have been the northern entrance to the Temple inclosure, and have been identical with the Upper Gate or Gate of Benjamin in Solomon's wall mentioned in II Kings 15:35 = II Chron. 27:3; Jer. 20:2; 37:13; 38:7; Ezek. 8:3; Zech. 14:10.

2. *Tower of Hammeah.*—This is mentioned in Neh. 3:1 as the next important point of the wall beyond the Sheep Gate going West. In Neh. 12:39 the northern company of Levites pass the Tower of Hammeah just before reaching the Sheep Gate. This tower seems to have stood on the site of the later castle of Antonia, which commanded the Temple on the north, and is represented by the modern Turkish barracks at the northwest corner of the Haram area. According to Josephus (*Ant.*, xiii, 11:2), this tower was in existence as early as the time of the Hasmoneans.

3. *The Tower of Hananel.*—Neh. 3:1 mentions this tower as the next point west of Hammeah, and Neh. 12:39 says that the northern company of Levites after leaving the Fish Gate passed by the Tower



Palestine Exploration Fund

SITE OF TOWER OF HANANEL

of Hananel and the Tower of Hammeah. Jer. 31:38 says: "The city shall be built to the Lord from the Tower of Hananel unto the Gate of the Corner." This indicates that Hananel was a corner of the city

opposite to the Corner Gate. Zech. 14:10 says: "She shall dwell in her place, from Benjamin's gate unto the place of the First Gate, unto the Corner Gate, and from the Tower of Hananel unto the kings wine-presses." Here the lines are drawn from the Gate of Benjamin on the east to the Corner Gate on the west, and from the Tower of Hananel on the north to the king's wine-presses, which must have been near the king's garden, on the south. Hananel, accordingly,



DAMASCUS GATE, SITE OF FISH GATE

must have stood at the north angle of the second wall on the cliff east of the present Damascus Gate.

4. *The Fish Gate.*—According to Neh. 3:3, the Fish Gate lay between the Tower of Hananel and the Old Gate. According to Neh. 12:39, the north company of Levites went from the Old Gate over the Fish Gate to the Tower of Hananel; but according to II Chron. 33:14, the Fish Gate lay in the new wall built by Manasseh, which we have found reason to identify with the second north wall. Zeph. 1:10 connects the Fish Gate with the "second quarter"—that

is, apparently, the new district added by the second wall on the north. These passages indicate that the Fish Gate is to be sought in the modern Damascus Gate, in the middle of the north wall of the city. Ancient stones are still to be seen in the foundations of this gate. The Middle Gate, mentioned in Jer. 39:1–3 as the place where the king of Babylon sat after the capture of Jerusalem, is apparently to be identified with the Fish Gate. It was so called because it lay midway in the north wall.

5. *The Old Gate.*—In Neh. 3:6 the Old Gate is mentioned next to the Fish Gate. A large number of builders are named as working between the two gates, so that it seems reasonable to suppose that the Old Gate was a considerable distance from the Fish Gate. In Neh. 2:39 the northern company of Levites passed the Old Gate in going from the Broad Wall to the Fish Gate. The name suggests that the gate lay in the first wall of the city and was identical with the Corner Gate, at whch point the second wall on the north joined the earlier wall. This view is confirmed by Zech. 14:10, where we read: "Jerusalem shall be lifted up from the Gate of Benjamin unto the place of the First Gate unto the Corner Gate." The First Gate is mentioned nowhere else and it is natural to regard ראשון, "first," as a textual corruption of ישן, "old." If this view be correct, the Old Gate is explicitly identified with the Corner Gate.

6. *The Broad Wall.*—According to Neh. 3:8, the Broad Wall lay next beyond the Old Gate. It is noteworthy that in this account the Gate of Ephraim is not mentioned. This is what we should expect, if this gate belonged to the old north wall. After the second wall was built, it stood in the heart of the city, and therefore did not need to be rebuilt. In Neh. 12:39 it is mentioned, but it is not stated that the Levites passed *over* it in their procession around the top of the wall, but merely that they passed *over against* it. It was only 400 cubits distant from the Corner Gate, and consequently was an ancient landmark that was easily recognized from the top of the wall. It is mentioned in the same way in which the House of David and the House of the Heroes are mentioned as passed by those who marched upon the eastern wall. The outer wall on the north would naturally be repaired first, and then subsequently the inner wall would be repaired as an additional defense to the northern

quarter of the city. In Nehemiah, however, no mention is made of a repairing of the inner wall. The broad wall, accordingly, must have been part of the earliest fortifications of the city on the western side, since Nehemiah's wall coincided with Solomon's wall from the Corner Gate to the Valley Gate. The Valley of Hinnom is only a shallow depression at the Corner Gate, and, consequently, at this point a wall of unusual strength was needed to defend the city. This is



SITE OF THE BROAD WALL

probably the reason why this was known as the Broad Wall. Apparently this was the same piece that was strengthened by Uzziah, according to II Chron. 26:9.

7. *The Tower of the Furnaces.*—At the southern end of the Broad Wall lay the Tower of the Furnaces, according to Neh. 3:11 and 12:38. It is naturally identified with the great rock-cutting known as Maudslay's Scarp in the English Protestant School, south of the southwest corner of the modern city. This scarp was evidently designed to form the base of a tower that protected the corner of the ancient city.

8. *The Valley Gate.*—Neh. 3:13 locates the Valley Gate between the Tower of Furnaces and the Dung Gate. According to Neh. 2:13, it was the point from which Nehemiah set out to ride down the Valley of Hinnom toward Siloam, and according to 12:31, 38, it was the point from which the two companies of Levites set out, one to encircle the city on the north, and the other on the south, until they met in the court of the Temple. This gate lay in the old wall



Photograph by L. B. Paton

BASE OF TOWER IN PROTESTANT SCHOOL

of Solomon, according to II Chron. 26:9; and its location at the southwest corner of Solomon's city has already been discussed in speaking of Solomon's wall. In Jer. 19:2 the command is given to the prophet: "Go forth unto the valley of the son of Hinnom, which is by the entry of the Gate Harsith." The Gate Harsith, or Gate of "Potsherds," is not mentioned elsewhere, but since it opened upon the Valley of Hinnom, it is reasonable to suppose that it is the same as the Valley Gate. At the upper end of the Birket es-Sultân, the large modern pool in the Valley of Hinnom, potsherds

are still pounded up to be used as cement for repairing roofs. It is possible that this place was used for the same purpose in antiquity, and that the Valley Gate was known as the Gate of Potsherds because it opened upon this spot.

9. *The Dung Gate.*—Neh. 3:13 locates the Dung Gate at a distance of 1,000 cubits from the Valley Gate. If, as we have seen, the Valley Gate is to be identified with the opening discovered by



Photograph by L. B. Paton

THE DUNG GATE

Bliss at the southwest corner of the old city, then the Dung Gate must be identified with the other opening discovered by Bliss at the southeast end of the western hill below the Pools of Siloam. The distance between these two points is not more than 1,000 cubits, or 1,800 feet. Neh. 2:13 and 12:31 also name the Dung Gate as lying next to the Valley Gate. The south gate of the modern city in El-Wâd is known today as the Dung Gate, and all the refuse of the city is dumped outside of it. Customs are so persistent in the Orient that it is reasonable to suppose that the south gate of Nehemiah's city had the same name and the same use.

10. *The Fountain Gate.*—Neh. 3:15 names the Fountain Gate as lying next beyond the Dung Gate and as near to the Pool of Siloam and the stairs of the City of David. Neh. 2:12 mentions it as lying between the Dung Gate and the King's Pool—that is, the Upper Pool of Siloam built by King Hezekiah. Neh. 12:37 states that the southern company of Levites marched along the wall from the Dung Gate to the Fountain Gate, and thence to the stairs of the City of David. These passages all show that the Fountain Gate was in the immediate neighborhood of the Upper Pool of Siloam. Its name was derived from the fact that it gave access to the Fountain of Siloam. As we have seen, the second wall on the south did not cross the lower end of the Tyropoeon Valley below the Old Pool, but followed the cliff on the west side of the valley and crossed above Siloam. Hence, the Fountain Gate has to be sought at the point where the wall crossed the valley. In II Kings 25:4; Jer. 39:4; 52:7, it is stated that, at the time of the capture of Jerusalem by Nebuchadrezzar, Zedekiah fled "by the way of the gate between the two walls which was by the king's garden." Nebuchadrezzar captured the city from the northern side, and, consequently, Zedekiah must have fled toward the south. The gate between the two walls must, therefore, be identified with the Fountain Gate which lay between the wall of the City of David on the east side of the Tyropoeon Valley and the wall of Hezekiah on the west side of that valley. This identification is also demanded by the fact that the gate between the two walls led to the King's Garden. From other passages this is known to have lain at the mouth of the Tyropoeon Valley.

11. *The Pool of Siloam.*—In Neh. 3:15; 2:14 the Pool of Siloam is named between the Fountain Gate and the stairs of the City of David. In 2:14 it is called the King's Pool. Its location at the southern end of the Siloam tunnel has already been discussed, so that nothing more needs to be said here.

12. *The King's Garden.*—This is mentioned in Neh. 3:15; II Kings 25:4; Jer. 39:4; 52:7, as lying near to the Fountain Gate. According to Zech. 14:10, "Jerusalem shall be lifted up from the tower of Hananel unto the king's wine-presses." Hananel is the most northern point of the city, and the king's wine-presses seem to be mentioned as the extreme southern point. They must, there-

fore, have been located in or near the King's Garden. This garden was irrigated by the overflow of water from the Pools of Siloam. At the present time the market-gardens of Jerusalem are situated at the mouth of the Tyropoeon Valley.

13. *The Stairs of the City of David* are mentioned in Neh. 3:15 and 12:37 as lying close to the Pool of Siloam. They are doubtless



Photograph by L. B. Paton

SITE OF KING'S GARDEN

to be identified with the steps cut in the rock that are still visible at the southern extremity of the eastern hill.

14. *The Ascent of the Wall* (Neh. 3:19 and 12:37) is evidently the steep ascent by which the wall climbed up the eastern side of the City of David.

15. *The Turning of the Wall* mentioned in Neh. 3:24, corresponds with the change in the course of the wall as discovered by Bliss and Guthe at a point west of the spring of Gihon.

16. *The Tower Standing Out*, mentioned in Neh. 3:26 as situated

in Ophel, corresponds to the great tower whose foundations Guthe discovered immediately south of the Temple.

17. *The Water Gate* is mentioned in Neh. 3:26 as situated on the east side of Ophel near the great tower. In Neh. 12:37 it is mentioned as lying between the House of David and the Temple. In 8:1, 16, it was the place where the assembly was held to which Ezra read the book of the law. It evidently lay near to the southeast corner of the Temple, and was called the Water Gate from the fact that it gave access to the spring of Gihon below in the Kidron Valley.

18. *The Wall of Ophel* mentioned in Neh. 3:28 is doubtless to be identified with the ancient wall, whose remains Warren and Guthe have uncovered, running in a southwesterly direction from the southeast corner of the Temple.

19. *The Horse Gate,* mentioned in Neh. 3:28 and Jer. 31:40, we have already met as a gate in the wall of Solomon (II Kings 11:16; II Chron. 23:15). As we have seen, it was situated in the eastern wall of the Temple inclosure near the southeast corner.

20. *The Gate Miphkad,* mentioned in Neh. 3:31, must have been situated near the northeast corner of the Temple area, and have been identical with the East Gate. It is not called by this name elsewhere in the Old Testament.

21. *The Ascent of the Corner,* which Neh. 3:31 names as lying between the Gate Miphkad and the Sheep Gate, must, as its name implies, have lain near the northeast corner of the Temple. It was probably a portion of the wall that climbed the hill in a northwesterly direction from the corner of the ancient city. This brings us back to the Sheep Gate from which we set out, and completes the circuit of the outer wall of Jerusalem as it existed in the time of Nehemiah, and as it remained until the year 40 A. D., when the third wall on the north was built by Agrippa.

BIBLE STUDY IN PREPARATORY SCHOOLS

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In reading the *Biblical World* for September, 1906, the attention of the writer was called to the very able article by Professor Isaac B. Burgess entitled, "Are Courses in the Bible Suited to the Curriculum of a Preparatory School?"

The question is one of vital interest yet of real difficulty. Is it desirable to introduce a new subject into an already overcrowded curriculum? If it is, in what way is the Bible to be taught and what training is necessary for the teacher? These are questions which must be answered satisfactorily before any changes can be made in our courses of secondary study. Perhaps therefore the experience of an eastern school where a course of biblical instruction similar to that in the Morgan Park Academy was introduced three years ago may serve to support the point of view so well defended by Professor Burgess.

It is not the purpose of this article to discuss the point whether the Bible is or is not an ethical factor in our national life. I assume that it is, and for that reason is of some value in molding the lives of future citizens and law-makers. I do wish, however, to ask where and how this knowledge of the Bible can be obtained. It is no longer possible to say that the Bible is taught at home and therefore can be left out of the schools. We are confronted with the fact that with a few exceptions it is not so taught. It is left therefore for Sunday schools or the secular schools to take up this task.

Sunday schools began in an effort to reclaim children from the streets and to give them the elements of moral instruction. With this was formerly included the elements of secular instruction—reading, writing, and arithmetic. As these were dropped, increased instruction in the Bible took their place. Now in our large city schools we are brought face to face with the problem of how to stem the double tide of ignorance and vice. That the Sunday school

cannot cope with the whole problem is evident. It can teach, aiming only to do the intellectual side of the work well, or, shifting the emphasis and freely adapting the work to individual needs, it can become an instrument of moral influence and good. The methods which should be used are too divergent to admit of being united without the sacrifice of one or the other desired ends. Far be it from us to undervalue the good that the Sunday schools are doing, week by week, or to fail in appreciation of the patient, earnest endeavor which often brings about greater results than we had dared hope for. It is because time and labor are freely given that it becomes worth while to face the problem squarely and to consider how the work can be done most effectively and without waste of strength or effort.

It is not hard to see for one thing that regular systematic teaching in the Sunday school will be difficult to secure. Good teachers, equal in ability to those in secondary schools, are hard to get. The majority of volunteers are untrained in the subject, and frequently unable or unwilling to make their deficiencies good. Again, the conditions surrounding the pupils are unsatisfactory. Great irregularity of attendance prevails; lessons are prepared badly or not at all; the time of day or week is one when the pupils are out from under the general habit of discipline and the result is too often something which would not be tolerated for an instant in a well-regulated school. Steady, consecutive instruction cannot be given under these conditions, but, on the other hand, it is fully possible to use such opportunities to interest, stimulate, and help the average boy or girl if sufficient freedom be allowed in the choice of material. Would it not then be economy of strength and effort to establish in the secondary schools such courses in biblical instruction as seem fitting and leave to the Sunday schools their own proper sphere of moral instruction? That this moral instruction would often include the other goes without saying, but the teacher ought to be able to draw upon knowledge already gained by the children in the secular schools and by this freedom from the entire responsibility be enabled to choose material adapted to his own needs. Ideally speaking, this plan for public instruction would include the public schools. This is not the time or place to raise the vexed question of mixed nationalities and creeds, but only to suggest that the plan followed in

Germany of separate instruction for Protestant, Catholic, and Jew, with equal freedom for each, is open to fewer objections than our own present one which safeguards the religious training of our foreign-born children to the detriment of our own. The private schools are free from such hindrances, and it is for them to take the initiative.

It is pertinent now to ask whether such instruction is possible under the existing conditions of secondary work. The Morgan Park Academy has already answered in the affirmative. Permit me to confirm it with our own experience.

St. Agnes School, Albany, N. Y., is a boarding and day school for girls. The plan of study from the primary class to graduation covers twelve years. The tenth year marks the completion of work not always identical with but fully equivalent to that given in the leading New York high schools. At the close of this year also the college preparatory students go up for their final examinations. The last two years are designed to meet the needs of those who do not wish to go to college but who desire broader and more advanced work than is given in high schools. During each of these two years only four subjects are carried, of which English history and science are required, and the fourth is an elective.

In the fall of 1903 the following plan for Bible study was put into effect. One period a week is given to it by each class from the sixth to the tenth, inclusive. No prepared work is asked, therefore a few minutes from each period is devoted to rapid review, and there are no longer oral and written examinations in the middle and at the close of each semester. The outline of study is as follows:

Fifth year.—In this year the Bible study forms a part of the regular daily work in history, which is a study of ancient nations and especially of the Semitic peoples. Egypt, Assyria, the Arabians, and the Hebrews are treated briefly, and then the *Old Testament Stories* (Moulton) are read and reproduced. Miss Arnold's little book just published, *History of Ancient Peoples*, is also used with great advantage.

Sixth year.—Here Bible study proper begins and is entirely separate from the other departments. The *New Testament Stories* (Moulton) are used, supplemented by questions and references;

each child makes a collection of prints for her notebook and at the end of the year they study the geography of Palestine with sand maps and pictures.

Seventh and eighth years.—In these two years the outlines of Old Testament history are covered. The work in class is done by means of topics, notebooks, lectures, and maps. Kent's *Hebrew People* is most useful for reference work.

Ninth year.—The literature of the Old Testament. As the course of the two previous years is historical, so this is literary. The books are grouped under the headings of history, prophecy, poetry, and "wisdom" books. The general outline of contents, authorship, date, and circumstances of composition are discussed freely. The exceeding richness of imagery, the dignity and power of the prophets, the beauty of the Psalms rarely fail to make a lasting impression.

Tenth year.—The literature of the New Testament. The aim and plan is the same as in the preceding year. Either Bennett and Adeney's *Biblical Introduction* or M'Clymont's *New Testament and Its Writers* is an excellent handbook for this course. In the eleventh and twelfth years no Bible study is required, but Christian ethics is offered as a senior elective. This course meets five periods a week for two years with full amount of prepared work. The course is historical and divides itself broadly into the treatment of the following topics: (1) primitive manners and customs with especial reference to the Semitic; (2) Hebrew ethics; (3) Greek ethics; (4) the Incarnation in its relation to Greek and Hebrew thought; (5) the doctrine of the Kingdom; (6) modern ethics and discussion of practical problems.

Up to the senior work the emphasis is placed on fact as fact, and with careful avoidance of all denominational inferences and attempts at controversy. In the senior elective, denominational issues are still laid aside, but the increased maturity of mind makes it possible to do more thoughtful work of quite a different type. Frank discussions, even lively debates, occur frequently—but the purpose is training in thought and expression, in accuracy, fairness, and honesty, not a dogmatic solution of the question itself. Collateral reading, observation, investigation of some especial problem all serve as means to the same end.

It still remains to answer one reasonable objection which is sometimes raised, namely, that the Bible is cheapened and secularized by this method of study. Whether or not this is so depends on the teacher. Lightness and flippancy in any subject will call forth the same attitude from the class, but it is equally true that sincerity and moral earnestness can create an atmosphere of reverence which is an effective safeguard against the light handling of sacred things. This quality is more desirable in the teacher than mere scholarship and to its absence during these formative years of a child's life much of the present irreligion may be due. The years from twelve to twenty are the years of the greatest religious sensitiveness, also of the greatest doubt. These vague doubts and questionings can be better answered at school by someone who knows the whole drift of the child's mental training than by the vast majority of parents. Care never to raise a doubt, but frank and honest examination of each doubt when presented by the pupil; such correlation with other studies as will lead the mind to find its own answers; suggested reading; above all, the fostering of the habit of mind which patiently holds questions in abeyance and waits for further light—these are the means by which a teacher of Bible study in secondary schools, perhaps more than anyone else, can check the inroads of secularization and doubt.

This leads to the material side of the teacher's equipment. Training in Semitics, and especially in the language and history of the Old and New Testaments, is of undoubted value. It gives a grasp of the subject which can be obtained in no other way. Moreover, the fact that this field of research is taking an important place in our universities does much to draw the older pupils toward it. Failing this *technical* training, it is not impossible to acquire knowledge of the subject sufficient for successful teaching. The Sunday School Commission of New York City has done yeoman service in gathering together material for just this purpose, and the number of books bearing on it multiplies from day to day. Nor may one overlook the archaeological side, which appeals to one of the strongest instincts of childhood. Children are born archaeologists. The training of this instinct is one of the greatest possible aids to enthusiastic Bible study. It is here as everywhere—treat the subject as alive and it will live, as dead and it will soon die.

INCIDENTAL FACT OR SPIRITUAL TRUTH

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Nine-tenths of the Sunday-school hour are often filled today with the presentation of facts, and in the last tenth some spiritual thought is enforced. At once we raise a question of comparative values. For what purpose are we Sunday-school teachers? To impart a knowledge of facts, or to lead pupils to a discovery and acceptance of truth? The former may be a necessary and helpful means to the latter but it must surely hold a minor place of importance.

As teachers we need to get a clear insight of the difference between a fact that is incidental and a truth that may help the growing spirit. We need also to see the relations of the one to the other. Professor Moulton has said, "A great many persons consider fact and truth as one and the same thing. Fact is simply the raw material with which truth has to deal." The abstract is to be realized through the concrete, the invisible is to be seen in the visible, the principle is made clear when personified. A fact may be a medium for conveying a truth and is therefore often essential. A group of facts may be so blended as to be the fascinating center of a story in which is hidden a great truth. But it is well to see what facts can serve the highest good, and what are so incidental that little, or no time, should be spent upon them. For example, the glitter, the gew-gaw, the spectacular show of Solomon's court are not worthy the detailed account that is apt to occupy a large part of the so-called lesson time. A few strong strokes in an outline word-picture will give the needed background for an appreciation of Solomon, his work, and his wisdom. Again, a teacher once said to the writer that, in the story of the miracle at Cana, she saw nothing to teach than that Jesus turned water into wine. *That* was the fact. The truth of Jesus' sympathy, his interest in the social life of his friends, and his power to fulfil any need of the moment seemed not to have been discovered by this worker who was earnest and eager to give only good to her pupils.

If she, in telling the story, did not feel the beauty and truth back of the incident how could her pupils discover them? In the teaching of Old Testament stories we need especially to search first for their moral purpose, the great spiritual truths that underlie most of them, rather than to accept the little morals that may quickly be seen because they are on the surface.

With an appreciation of this interpretation of fact and truth, we shall not of necessity separate the two, but let the lower serve the higher. A sermon, a lecture, above all a story, is so much the stronger when the essence of the moral is felt all the way through than when attached at the end.

"Object-lesson" teaching has emphasized a materialistic tendency and an absorption in facts. Of course objects are needed at times in all good teaching. There has been too little presentation of the right kind of objects, of those which will make clear the essentials to be taught, but the object-lesson has often degraded into the illustration of the object and nothing more. Illustrations in "quarterlies" and the so-called "symbol" cards need to be critically studied with this thought in mind. What possible help toward a spiritual appreciation of the subject is found in the picture of a bird, because the expression is used, "the Holy Spirit descended as a dove"? One teacher rightly said long ago, "that mischievous bird" ruined for her and for her pupils what had been a beautiful opportunity. We are responsible for the crude religious ideas that many of our children gain and even retain in later years.

A fine example of the possible bad use of a story from the standpoint of facts, or the possible good use from the standpoint of truth, is to be found in that of David and Nathan. If told with the emphasis laid on the facts of David's immoral relations with Bathsheba, etc., it becomes unsuitable for young children, but if told with a simple statement of King David's action in taking away from a poor man his wife because she was beautiful, and the emphasis laid on Nathan's pathetic story of the ewe lamb, it proves to be one of the strongest and most valuable pictures of selfish meanness and of the rights of ownership so much needed by children of eight and ten years of age. In telling of Elijah's going from earth, a useless detailed description of the whirlwind and the chariot of fire may be given, or a beautiful

word-picture of the leave-taking between the two friends may be made. The latter, even to an eight-year-old child, might give a helpful impression regarding death.

A story needs to be a unit. The stories of the Old Testament are often stronger, of more interest, and of greater value with some incidental facts eliminated. In some passages of the Bible we find digressions that hinder the main thread of the story. Professor Moulton, in his selection and arrangement of Old Testament stories in his *Children's Bible*, shows how the unimportant, or the unsuitable parts for children may be omitted and the strength of the story be increased.

With a deeper conception of the spiritual truth of the Old Testament stories, the question of their historicity will not trouble us. Many so-called "untrue" stories in general literature have more truth in them than stories of actual fact.

> True fiction hath an higher end and scope
> Wider than fact: it is nature's possible
> Contrasted with life's actual mean.

THE MEN WHO MADE ISRAEL

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THE JUDGES AND THE PREPARATION FOR THE KINGDOM

48. It is one thing for a people to conquer a land; it is another thing to settle down and make that land its home. Israel's first task was completed, but its second and more difficult problem remained to be solved. A people used to the wandering life of the desert must learn to dwell in one place. It must take on new activities, learn to till the soil, to exchange the sword for the plow, and to practice all the arts of agricultural and civilized life. New social relations with the old inhabitants must be created, former friendships and connections strengthened, new ties formed with those hitherto strangers. Israel must adjust its former customs, laws, political organization, and religious ideas and modes of worship to the demands of a different situation, for these had grown up during their desert life and were not adapted to people living quietly on farms or in cities. While all this was going on, the newcomers must protect themselves from attacks of enemies on their borders. It was no simple task that now confronted them.

49. There was much that favored them. The world-powers on the Nile and the Euphrates were still torn with internecine troubles and too weak to invade the lands on the Mediterranean coast. The great migrations of border peoples were over and the earlier invaders were engaged in the same task of settlement in new homes. As teachers in the strange studies of agriculture Israel had the peoples of Palestine, some of whom were already friendly and all familiar with the arts of settled and civilized life. Israel was not entering a wild, uncultivated region. As Jehovah said to them by the mouth of Joshua, "I gave you a land whereon thou hadst not labored and cities which ye built not, and ye dwell therein; of vineyards and olive yards, which ye planted not, do ye eat." On these cultivated lands as conquered serfs or as allies these inhabitants made Israel's intro-

duction to the new tasks easier. They introduced the newcomers to a higher culture, to industry and trade, to literature and art, to that civilization which Babylonia and Egypt had for many centuries spread so widely through the west-land. All this was of inestimable value in hastening Israel's advance. Nor was Israel itself without elements of strength. It was a conquering people, full of energy and resource, unrelaxed by the weakening influences of civilization, and possessed of a simple faith in Jehovah, the protector of his people and the guardian of justice. The memory of Moses and the Exodus was a mighty force to hold them together and to the achievement of the purpose to build up a national life in the Promised Land.

50. Yet the fact remained that they must adjust themselves to these new conditions and this drew severely on their strength and left them little to spare for defending themselves against enemies which might rise up to vex them. And now, when they were no longer united in one host under one leader but had separated to their several districts, they were the less able to offer a strong resistance and their weakness gave opportunity for attack. Thus it is no wonder that the history of Israel during this century (1150–1050 B. C.) was one long fierce struggle in which at times the people seemed well-nigh ready to perish. That they survived and came forth a nation was due to the coming forward of a series of leaders in different districts and tribes, who, strong for Jehovah, beat back their foes in his name and whose exploits kept alive courage and hope in the scattered sections of the people. These were the Judges. After generations dwelt upon these heroes and grouped them and their doings in the Book of Judges, one of the most picturesque and stirring books of the Old Testament.

51. Israel's tremendous onrush which had overwhelmed the Canaanites had not entirely broken their strength. This was especially true of the cities, centers of commerce, wealth, and culture. Their strong walls and war chariots had protected them. Two belts of these cities stretched right across the country from east to west, separating the tribes of Israel and weakening their power. One of these belts, on the south, had Jerusalem as its central stronghold and cut off Judah from its brethren. The other was made up of the cities in the plain of Esdraelon, from Bethshan to Megiddo. From these, in

course of time, a formidable assault was made upon Israel. Under the leadership of a chieftain, Sisera, the unity of Israel was utterly broken. All communication between the clans was cut off. The ancient spirit of conquest yielded to tame submission under a vigilant and active foe. The gods of Canaan triumphed over Jehovah. All that Joshua had won seemed lost. But the voice of Jehovah was heard in Israel speaking through Deborah, a woman, who in his name summoned Barak, a chieftain of Naphtali, a tribe whose seat lay north of the plain. Together they gathered the fighting men of Israel, ten thousand out of forty thousand, to battle for Jehovah. Men from Ephraim, Benjamin, Machir (a clan of Manasseh), Zebulun, and Issachar followed the chieftain of Naphtali to the conflict. The spirit of the Jehovah of the desert fell upon them; in a fierce onslaught they came down upon the foe. A sudden rain storm had raised the river Kishon and made the surrounding plain a sea of mud in which the Canaanite chariots were mired, and before they could free themselves Israel's rush had swept them away. It was a notable victory. Its story was told in one of the earliest and most famous lyrical ballads of Israel's literature, the song put in the mouth of Deborah, which, besides describing the battle, glorified the heroic deed of Jael, the Kenite woman, who with the tent hammer slew Sisera as fleeing from the field he came worn and weary to the door of her tent seeking rest and food. The poem ended with Jehovah's praise:

> So let all thine enemies perish, O Jehovah;
> And let them that love him be as the sun when he goeth
> forth in his might.

52. The battle of the Kishon broke the power of the Canaanites of the North, but other enemies disputed Israel's possession. The peoples on the other side of the Jordan invaded the land. Eglon, king of Moab, crossed the Jordan at Jericho and levied tribute on the country round about. But a valiant Benjamite, Ehud, after bringing him a present, made his way secretly into the king's presence, stabbed him to death, and escaped to bring news of the king's death and summon his brethren to battle. They followed him to victory and the driving-out of Moab. When the Ammonites oppressed Israel east of the Jordan, a hero arose in Jephthah, who had been

driven out from his father's house and was an outlaw. In their extremity his brethren called him back and made him their chief. He led them out against Ammon, won a decisive victory over them, and delivered his people.

53. Another and severer crisis with more important results was brought about by the invasion of Manasseh and Ephraim by the Midianites. These two strong tribes occupied the center of the western plateau where they were cultivating their farms in peace and prosperity. But now from across the Jordan through the Esdraelon plain came these invaders from the desert at the season of harvest to pillage their crops and carry away the spoil. For seven years their inroads continued until courage and hope had well-nigh died out in the hearts of these Israelites. All prospect of advance in unity and property was lost. Then Jehovah called Gideon to the rescue. The full and lively narrative of his exploits preserved in the Book of Judges is evidently based on a variety of tales which were everywhere told at Israelite firesides in the latter days. Gideon was the son of an obscure chieftain of one of the clans of Manasseh at the time when the tribe was brought low by these Midianite inroads. Not daring to thresh his little store of wheat on the threshing-floor at the top of the hill where he would be seen by the enemy, he was working over it in the wine-press when Jehovah appeared to him and bade him deliver his people. He could not believe that it was he who could lead in this work, and only when his doubts were removed by wondrous signs wrought by Jehovah did he undertake it. Filled with Jehovah's spirit and in his name he called for followers. One story tells us that more than thirty thousand men responded from Manasseh, Asher, Zebulun, and Naphtali. But he tested them and retained only three hundred. With these in a night attack he fell upon the host of the Midianites in the plain with the war-cry "The sword of Jehovah and of Gideon," threw them into confusion, and drove them in headlong flight across the Jordan. Their chiefs were captured and slain by Gideon himself in blood revenge for the murder of his own kinsmen. Out of the great spoil of gold he made an ephod, probably an image of Jehovah, and set it up in a shrine in his own village of Ophrah.

54. This valorous deed of Gideon gave him great prestige. We

are told that on the strength of it he was invited by Israel to be their king. The sense of the value of stronger organization as a defense against enemies was growing among the people. Gideon refused the honor, but maintained till his death a leading position in his tribe. The sons of his many wives were ambitious and on his death one of them, Abimelech, son of a Canaanite woman, slew all his brethren except one, Jotham, and set up a kingdom in Shechem. But after three years troubles broke out and in one of the battles that followed Abimelech was slain and his kingdom perished with him.

55. The most picturesque of these stories deals with the adventures of Samson and introduces upon the scene a new foe of Israel—the Philistines. The origin and early history of the Philistines has already been told (§ 39). Earlier in the field and in a far more favorable position for rapid progress in wealth and power, they soon began to expand and push their way northward up the coast-plain and eastward to the mountain border of Israel. Here on the edge of the hills lay the tribe of Dan which began to suffer severely from their advance. At first the relations were friendly, but soon the pressure of Philistine power began to be felt and border warfare arose. In the midst of it appeared the Danite champion, Samson. The stories of his doings that passed current in Israel were a strange combination of the humorous, the rude, and the heroic. But at their heart they record the impress made by a strong personality upon his time, and reflect wonderfully the spirit and life of the age. Samson was the son of Manaoh, a child of promise, set apart for Jehovah's service from his birth as a Nazirite. The outward marks of his consecration were that his hair was never to be cut and he was to drink no wine. He early became conscious of the possession of immense strength which, when the spirit of Jehovah came upon him, was irresistible. He would slay Philistines by the hundreds with any weapon which came to hand. He inflicted all kinds of mischief on them and when by guile they made him captive he burst his bonds and escaped. At last they cut off his hair while he slept and bound him, and when he awoke he found his strength gone. His eyes were put out and he was made a slave. But on a great festival day when he was brought out to be mocked by his captors, Jehovah gave him back his strength and, seizing the pillars of the temple, he brought the house down in

destruction upon the heads of his enemies; "so the dead that he slew at his death were more than they that he slew in his life."

56. Such were the men who fought for Jehovah in the days of Israel's settlement. They were called judges and in later times were thought of as succeeding one another in the headship of Israel and exercising the powers that the judge of more civilized ages possessed. This could hardly be the case. Israel was no organized, united people at that time. The stories of the judges show them to be little more than leaders of clans or tribes raised up to meet some critical situation in their own districts and gaining some local fame by their exploits. Yet there was more in what they did. Their deeds, of quite local and temporary moment in themselves, were the outcome of a spirit greater than their own, the spirit of Israel's religion, the spirit of Jehovah, with which they felt themselves possessed. By virtue of that they called their brethren to follow them. They kept alive the remembrance of Israel's God. The tales of their deeds, carried from clan to clan, awakened in all parts of Israel the memories of the past and the hopes which these memories stirred. So they did their part to save Israel at a time when it could be saved only by heroic valor inspired by religion.

57. They were not patterns for us either of morals or religion. They were men of a rude and iron age when every man "did that which was right in his own eyes." Israel was struggling for existence and only the strong could survive. Deeds of violence and treachery, robbery and murder, were common. Tribes of the same blood fought with each other and the strongest of the judges could not hold more than a few of them together for long. Religion, not seldom sanctified cruelty, was the inspiration to valor and warfare rather than to goodness and right. When the "spirit of Jehovah" fell upon Samson, he slew his enemies.

58. During all this wild time Israel was growing and learning. Contact with the old inhabitants led to union. Earlier relations broken off during Israel's sojourn in Egypt were revived. Hence it is probable that these years saw the completion of that tribal organization of Israel which was by later writers, as has been indicated, drawn up in a genealogical scheme and connected with the twelve sons of Jacob (§ 19). In fact, that scheme has been thought to reflect

the changes and relations which the settlement in Palestine brought about. Thus, for example, the sons of the concubines are regarded as tribes that appeared in this time, and were largely made up of Canaanites taken up into the Israelite body. This is specially likely in the case of Dan and Asher. The youngest son, Benjamin, was a tribe made up from Ephraim, as its position on the southern border of Ephraim's territory suggests. That Reuben was the eldest son indicates that the tribe of Reuben was once the leader of Israel at the beginning, a position which was yielded to the tribe of Joseph because Reuben settled down on the east of Jordan and did not take part in the western movement. The failure of Simeon and Levi to obtain districts in Palestine is connected with the story of their attack on Shechem told in Genesis, chap. 34. In Jacob's blessing they are severely rebuked for this and it is thought that in the wars that fol lowed they were well-nigh destroyed. Simeon never recovered, but Levi reappeared as a tribe of priests without possessing any land in Palestine. Judah's small part in the conquest and subsequent struggles is due to its separation from the other tribes by the belt of Canaanite cities (§ 51), and also to its absorption of a number of non-Israelite clans among which that of Caleb the Kenite is specially mentioned. Out of the obscure conflicts of the time the tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh gained the leading place, due to their position in Egypt (§ 21), and also to their possessing the favored situation on the western plateau. Whatever may be our view of these suggestive theories, the fact remains that from this period of settlement Israel came forth as the one people of Palestine, its various parts clearly defined and strong.

59. But Israel had not only grown; it had learned much during this century. The problems set before it at the beginning (§ 48) were nearing solution. By inheritance from the Canaanites and amalgamation with them it had acquired the arts of agriculture. The storms of war had not altogether hindered the slow growth of a higher civilization among the tribes. The most striking proof of this is seen in literature. That such poetry as the Song of Deborah belongs to this age, and such prose as the fable of Jotham, shows that a new life had been awakened. The former is the finest product of many lyrics of heroism which passed from mouth to

mouth among the people and were collected and written down in a later age.

60. Israel's religion also grew in these years. At first sight and in view of the atrocities of the age this seems incredible. It is true that the moral descent seems serious when we compare Moses with Gideon or Jephthah. But we forget the problem to be solved. Jehovah, god of the desert, lord of wandering Israel, must now become transformed into a god of another world, of agriculture, of cultivated land, lord of a settled people with new interests. He must be worshiped in other shrines and in other ways. He came into competition with gods of Canaan. It was a conflict of gods as well as of peoples that took place when Israel entered Canaan. And as Israel took Canaanites up into their tribes, so they must take their religions and adjust them to their own. In this process, too, they triumphed, although at times all seemed lost. Jehovah became God of Canaan, of its fields, its groves and its springs, worshiped in its holy places in forms which had long been used to worship the deities of Canaan. But he remained God of Israel as it had been taught by Moses to regard him. The past was not forgotten. As friend and savior of Israel he called the heroes to deliver his people, and the remembrance of the Red Sea and the passage of the Jordan was a bond of union which held the scattered fragments together when all other bonds had been severed. Nor was his guardianship of justice forgotten although in the tumult of the time it was weakened and obscured. Foul deeds aroused indignation in Israel and were punished in Jehovah's name. In this age the tribe of Levi to which Moses belonged seems to have been the guardian of the Mosaic tradition and appeared as special ministers of Jehovah at the local shrines. The ark of Jehovah was venerated at Shiloh in Ephraim's land, and the time was coming when again it would be the visible token of Jehovah's presence and the rallying-point of the people.

61. Israel was also learning the need and the value of organization. Israel had come into Canaan a union of tribes, conscious of a common kinship and of a common service of one God. Moses, as Jehovah's representative and the appointed leader, had trained the people to act together and had been to them the center and soul of a new national life. But Moses was gone and Joshua had not been able to

keep them one in the conquest and division of the land. Soon everything that made for union was lost in their struggles to gain possession of their separate districts and in their amalgamation with the inhabitants. But the conflicts which arose with outsiders revived their memories of the past unity and led them to make efforts toward restoring it. These were at first weak and futile. They could not go back to the old tribal unity for they were a settled people. The common tie of religion was a stronger force and hence arose the judges who in the name of Jehovah summoned them to join together for common defense. Yet we have seen how some of the tribes could not be moved to united action even by this motive. But they had come into a land where the ordinary form of organization was the city with its king. Hence they would be tempted, each locality to set up a separate state for itself. The result of the remembrance of the old unity and the example of the city kingdoms of the Canaanites was to lead them to combine both in a monarchy which would cover as many of the tribes as possible. So the kingdom of Gideon and his house appeared in Manasseh. It represented a higher and better form of political organization than any that had yet appeared. But it was not strong enough to endure. Some greater impulse was needed before Israel was to realize its unity and to stand as a well-knit nation among the nations around it. That impulse was already beginning to be felt as the age of the Judges was passing away. Jehovah was preparing the man and the opportunity which should bring about a new and more successful movement toward national organization.

EXPOSITORY STUDIES IN THE OLD TESTAMENT

X. JOSHUA, GIDEON, AND SAMSON

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THE CITIES OF REFUGE: JOSHUA 21:1–9[1]

I. CRITICAL

As Exod., chaps. 35–40, is the sequel to Exod., chaps. 25–31, the one giving the plan for the tabernacle, the other the fulfilment of that plan, so is Joshua 20:1–9 the sequel to Num. 35:9–34. The literary problem in both cases is the same; see *Biblical World*, July, 1907, pp. 60, 61. This is the product of the priestly school and is the elaborated idealization of a somewhat late date. The linguistic characteristics, such as "person" (vs. 3), "congregation" (vss. 6, 9), "Kiriath-arba" (vs. 7), "tribe" (vs. 8), "unwittingly" (vss. 3, 9), belong to P. So do the religious interests. Before Josiah's reform the altars on every hillside would afford asylum privileges. With these innumerable possible sanctuaries a few special cities would prove of little advantage. But when the reform of 621 B. C. swept away the local altars (II Kings 23:4–20), the reforming party must supply substitutes for lost privileges. Jerusalem is now the great and only sanctuary for worship (Deut., chap. 12). But while the worshiper might leisurely plan and at pleasure perform his pilgrimage not so the manslayer. Urgent is his case. The stealthy, quick-footed avenger may be in hot pursuit. Hence the great reformers supply the answer for this need in the scheme of cities first outlined in Deut., chap. 19. This idea has been reworked by P in Num. 35:9–34, and in Josh. 20:1–9.

However, this brief section is not wholly one piece. Though late in itself, still later hands have contributed to the warp and woof. It is noteworthy that vss. 4–6, save the words "until he stand before the congregation for judgment," which forms no unity with the phrase following, and the phrase, "at Jericho eastward" in vs. 8, are not found in the Greek translation. Moreover, there is here a peculiar resemblance to Deut. 19, and the part which the elders play and the word for "unawares" are indications of that school. The conclusion is that this section, which does not contribute to the narrative, was added to the Hebrew after the date of the Greek translation.

[1] International Sunday-School Lesson for November 3, 1907.

II. EXPOSITORY

The cities of refuge are a development from a more primitive idea. To early peoples the abode of deity may be found in fountains, trees, stones. Altars, and, later, buildings mark such places. Manifestations of the god himself are expected in his habitation. He displays himself in dreams, visions, communications, infliction of death, or preservation of life. Sanctuary rights at the altar are recognized in the most ancient Hebrew legislation (Exod., 21:14). History shows that occasionally, at least, the people availed themselves of these privileges, e. g., Adonijah (I Kings 1:50), Joab (I Kings 2:28). This was in the days of Solomon, and from a study of II Sam. 14:6–11, we find that as yet there was no well-defined procedure for the trial of the manslayer nor was there any well-recognized, permanent refuge for such. Later legislation made the necessary provision. In the days of Grecian influence in Syria, certain cities enjoyed this distinction, as Diocaesarea, Gadara, Sycthopolis, and others. Through later history the same conditions pertain. The cathedrals in the Middle Ages were the last resort of the terrified multitudes, and were not infrequently effective against the onslaught of the enemy.

To the same status of society, though still earlier, belongs blood revenge. The necessity of the rigorous life, with its lack of organization, and its constant warfare, was the family compact, tribal unity. Kinship was the strongest tie in life and religion. This solidity of the clan led to responsibilities. Such are redemption of property (Lev. 25:25; Ruth 4:3–6), levirate marriage (Ruth 4:3–6), and blood revenge. The last-named practice is one of the sure tribal marks. It passes away before a true national life. There the state is the executor of justice, and individual enforcing of the law is a thing of the past. Long did this custom play its part in Israel. Naturally so, for like the Arab of today, who still practices the same primitive method of justice, this people never was firmly established as a nation. The best even late legislators could do was to modify the early custom and advance toward the nationalization of the execution of justice. The cities of refuge with their attendant courts are one step in this progress.

In this exercise of authority on the part of the state great care is taken that none but the innocent may be shielded (vss. 3, 9). For the murderer there is short shrift (Deut. 19:12; Num. 35:16–21). Justice must not miscarry. A fair trial, ample evidence, and no bribery is demanded (Num. 35:12, 24, 32). Save where death has been due to what may be termed an accident, a life for a life is the unalterable law, as in Gen. 9:6. In the case of the innocent the court—elders in vs. 4 (D), congregation in vs. 6 (P)—

decides the case and protects the man until the death of the high-priest, when he is to be granted his freedom. No trace is found in Israel's history of the actual working of this policy, but like Ezekiel's temple vision (Ezek., chaps. 40–48) it serves to show the religious and social development in the days of its origin.

The cities which are alloted to this high purpose cannot all be located. Jewish tradition places them in pairs opposite each other, three on either side of the Jordan. Hebron, Shechem, and Kedesh, on the west side were most ancient, hence most sacred, sanctuaries. It may be presumed that the other places likewise had a religious history. Golan has not been identified, but was probably in the south. The cities were so located that no escaper would have to flee any great distance, not more perhaps than thirty miles.

III. APPLICATION

1. *The execution of justice is essential to national well-being.*—The guilty must be punished while the innocent are protected. Personal prejudice should be removed and fair-mindedness alone rule in judgment.

2. *Human life is of supreme value.*—The taking of it is the climax of criminality. Has an international fact or a wholesale act, as war, any less ethical aspect than that of the individual? Yet life's value lies not so much in its days as in its deeds.

3. *Kinship or brotherhood is a most binding tie.*—But our sympathies are wider than the tribal. They reach beyond sect, race, and clime, and embrace the brotherhood of man. In this unity lies the hope of the kingdom.

4. *The sins of yesterday, like an avenger, are ever on the heels of today.*—Each iniquity comes home to lodge with the guilty party.

5. *A secure refuge lies before every seeker.*—Not only those who have unwittingly failed but even those who are not guiltless may find mercy. Forgiveness is as wide as transgression. Grace is stronger than guilt.

JOSHUA RENEWING THE COVENANT WITH ISRAEL: Josh. 24:14–28[2]

I. CRITICAL

Chaps. 23 and 24 purport to contain two apparently distinct farewell addresses by Joshua. Both are prophetic exhortations, so distinct in tone as to seem in some places mutually exclusive. Chap. 23 is saturated with the spirit of Deuteronomy, and supplements chap. 24 by features the writer deemed of chief importance (cf. 23:6, 12). In chap. 24 the landmarks of the Ephraimitic document—"God," "Amorite," "after these things," "the

[2] International Sunday-School Lesson for November 10, 1907.

river," for the Euphrates—are apparent. A few phrases (note especially 26 *a*), may be later additions. As a whole, however, this is the injunction which the prophets of the northern people elaborated and enshrined in tradition, as the parting legacy of their early hero.

II. EXPOSITORY

This chapter is a good type of religious address. A historical résumé gives the appropriate background for a dramatic appeal. God's goodness to the fathers seen in his election and constant guidance of Israel is the leverage for their future loyalty. His power is the great source for national encouragement. Then the speaker launches forth on his theme. Reverent fear for Jehovah is demanded. The putting away of foreign gods is the crux of the matter. Religion is in the balance; no question of morals is introduced. The great foe is idolatry. It is akin to the struggle of Elijah with the prophets of Baal. Old gods, each claiming attention, were very abundant. The common Semitic deities such as their fathers worshiped, household gods, as the Teraphim which we find with Rachel and Michel, had a strong claim on their ancestral affections. The Egyptian deities made apparently a very slight appeal, for little evidence of their influence is seen. Amorite or Canaanite influence however was exceedingly strong. Herein lay a chief danger. It was in evidence on every hillside around them. Its influence was subtle. It was elaborate, well developed, and sensuous. Long and fierce was the conflict. The Israelitish conception of God was modified, no doubt gained something of softness, by the contact, but Jehovah won the day. Israel's triumph in the struggle was necessary to preserve her identity. Had Baalism won the minds and hearts of Israel, then her nationality would have been swallowed up in that of the Canaanites and her religious ideals would for the time have perished. Fear of Jehovah and sincere service to him gave her vitality and has writ her name large in history. This behest—loyalty to Jehovah—sums up one side of all the prophetic preaching down to the days of the Exile.

The call for decision is made: Choose you. There is a possible alternative. Hence the religion of Jehovah is not arbitrary. It began by Jehovah's free choice of his people, but must at every step be ratified by them. It is not a family heirloom. Thus being individual and voluntary, it lays the intelligence under tribute and is stimulating and vital.

As soon as the people pledge themselves Joshua shows them the difficulties. "Ye cannot serve Jehovah" (vs. 19). Jehovah is holy; he is jealous. He will not share his honor with other gods. Their altars must be shunned. Old religious practices must cease. The pleasant revelries, the old feasts

must be abandoned. Old customs, companions, and gods, which had woven themselves into the very heart of the nation, must all be repudiated. Certainly this, as history shows, was no easy task, and was one which could alone be accomplished through the travail of centuries.

When the people insisted on choosing Jehovah, Joshua made with them a covenant in Shechem. This was an appropriate place. It was one of the most venerated shrines, and here we are told Joshua came in the days of early leadership (Josh. 8:30–35). Stones were very frequently used as memorials (cf. Jacob at Bethel, Gen. 28:18; at Padan-Aram, Gen. 31:44–46; Moses at Sinai, Exod. 24:4; Joshua at Gilgal, Josh. 4:3). The ceremonial connected with the covenant is not mentioned. We see a mode of procedure in similar cases, in Exod. 24:3–8.

III. APPLICATION

1. *A jealous God demands a whole-hearted service.*—These demands are not satisfied today by omitting sacrifices to idols, repudiating paganism, and calling deity by a certain name, but they include refusing the lower and accepting the higher, moving from selfishness to service.

2. *The slowness of religious progress* is seen in the struggle consequent on Israel's choice. A covenant, a conversion, a revival is but the first step in the long march toward the goal. Lofty spiritual conceptions, heralded not by dust and din but by the still small Voice, can be fully appreciated by the mind and heart but gradually.

3. *True religious service often demands a separation from the idols and and ideas of the past.*—There was an incompatibility between Jehovah and certain phases of the old life. The old must go. Converts in non-Christian lands must separate from the old. Moses and Paul, Calvin and Wesley were men who broke with their past and thus became the apostles of new eras.

4. *The covenant is an introduction to the inheritance.*—As they gained possession through struggle, so every rightly directed effort leads to success. To everyone in covenant relation there is an inheritance, a home-coming to a land-locked harbor safe from storm and strife.

GIDEON AND HIS THREE HUNDRED: Judg. 7:9–23[3]

I. CRITICAL

The name of the book is derived from the stories which gather round the hero judges, in the body of the book (2:6—16:31). Narratives of thirteen judges, who exercised apparently only tribal sway, are rehearsed.

[3] International Sunday-School Lesson for November 17, 1907.

That there could not have been chronological sequence is indicated by the fact that the years of their leadership and the period of rest following each, added to those back to the time of the exodus and forward to the building of the Temple, would give a sum considerably exceeding 534, while 480 years is the definite figure assigned to this period in I Kings 6:1. These stories were compiled by a religious teacher or teachers of the Deuteronomic caste. Each tradition has been fitted into a theological framework, the doctrine of which it is used to illustrate and emphasize. The framework may be seen at a glance in most of the stories. It is as follows: Israel sinned, an oppression and servitude resulted; repentance on the part of the people is followed by a deliverance by Jehovah, with rest for a stated period. The theological conception stands out on the face of every page. Disloyalty to Jehovah is always punished, and faithful service to him is always blessed.

Behind these narratives there lie the prophetic histories, J, E. Quite naturally these did not stop with the career of Joshua. The evidence of composite sources is not far to seek; cf. the defeat of Midian and capture of Orab and Zeeb in 8:4–21, and 7:23—8:3, where we have evidently two accounts of the same victory. Many features similar to those met in the Hexateuch are found here. The lines of the documents are however frequently faint, so that a complete analysis is very precarious.

In our lesson, vss. 9–15 point to an affiliation with J. In vs. 14, "the sword of Gideon the son of Joash" may be late. Vss. 16–23 are difficult to straighten into a smoothly running story. Note the repetitions, "do as I do" (vss. 16, 17), "blew their horns" (vss. 19, 20, 21), "broke their jars" (vss. 19, 20). This is due either to a strong effort to unite two separate traditions or to redactional repetition. Perhaps both helped toward this confusion.

II. EXPOSITORY

This is one of the delightful heroic stories which not only delights the child-mind of today, but which was the pride of the people who claimed the hero, and is a most effective method of imparting religious truth in all ages. The story itself is of that type which abounds in every tribe, clan, and family the world over. The hero is immortalized and his wondrous deeds handed down in story. The author in this case has turned it into a religious mold and made it the channel for the religious conceptions of his age. For this we owe him a debt of gratitude.

Gideon, the valiant son of a loyal father, is the deliverer from the seven years of oppression by Midian. While he is performing his home duties Jehovah calls him (6:14), and his coming victory is announced by the angel

of Jehovah (6:12). A sign is requested and given. One narrative records sacrifice and answer by fire (6:17, 21—J). The other mentions the two-fold test by the fleece (6:37, 38, 40—E). An interesting side play is found in 6:25–32 (E), which lays the origin of his name Jerubaal in the challenge to Baal when he destroys his altars. Here the struggle between Baal and Jehovah when Elijah is the champion is anticipated.

The chief interest however of Gideon's life gathers around his defeat of Midian. The purging of the army from 32,000 to 300 is a well-known story. The historian will allow the victory to none but Jehovah. The tests by which the army is thus reduced are also familiar. It was right that the fearful and faint-hearted should not follow the standard, and whatever the significance of the second method of test (7:5), no doubt only the eager and resolute remain with their leader.

To inspire courage he goes as a spy into the camp of Midian. A dreamer is speaking, and a pessimistic interpreter is beside him. With the thought of battle on their minds, with some knowledge of Gideon's valor and call to arms, it is easy to find a meaning close at hand. The oppressed Israelites are the barley cake which tumbles over the tents of Midian. Sufficient is this for Gideon who with his follower quietly steals away. But the dream and the interpretation go from camp to camp. The oppressive silence of the night, the old, fierce enemy lying beyond the hill, the dream, the superstition of the Beduin may all conspire to arouse a quaking in the heart of Midian ere they lie down in troubled slumber. Then comes the climax. The dread slogan of Israel rends the air. Midian, but half awake, staggers from her tents. Crash on crash! Trumpets blaring! Torches flashing, in front, at rear, right and left! The weird war-cry! The darkness! The confusion! Has not the dream come true? Is not the foe overwhelming? Does not Jehovah fight for them? No wonder then that in the dread alarm and mad struggle friend slew friend, and that the great host sought a speedy escape from the strange attack.

But this spectacular play was only the beginning. Where were the 22,000 valiant ones who were not honored by being in the vanguard that night? Perchance not far away. And the other 10,000, who before the engagement were timid? Do they now gain a mastery over fear and rush to the spoil? And the men from the far confines, Naphtali, Asher, and Manasseh were there (7:23). And Ephraim joined in the rout and held the fords of the Jordan (7:24). Thus that which was begun by a piece of signal strategy was completed by a united soldierly effort, and the Midianite oppression was broken.

There are two facts which though outside our lesson ought not to be

overlooked. The jealousy of Ephraim shows that the tribal ties are yet strong. On the other hand, the desire of the men of Israel to appoint Gideon and his sons the hereditary rulers in Israel shows the growth toward a national life. With the fairer dawn of nationhood there must be a growth in their manner of life, their customs, and laws, and above all in their religious conceptions.

III. APPLICATION

1. *Humble tasks faithfully performed may lead to the larger and more public service.*—Gideon beating wheat, Saul ploughing, David tending sheep, etc., are all in the line for preferment in service. A humble sphere and homely service does not obscure the quality and ability of the man. He will be found when the hour of need strikes.

2. *The serious undertakings in the world demand the valiant of spirit.*—Cowardice is the white flag of surrender. Courage laughs at the difficulties and defies the foe. The fearful in heart can win no victories and are better outside the camp at the crucial hour.

3. *The best confidence is that which relies on the divine power* for the fulfilment of his plans. To know that we are in harmony with the divine purpose is more than half the battle. This principle must strengthen the pulse of every Christian worker in every campaign for righteousness. For every such one there is the inspiration which breathes from the old Huguenot motto:

> Hammer away ye hostile bands
> Your hammers break
> God's anvil stands.

4. *Strategy is wise in the great Christian warfare.*—Surprise the enemy. Flank him on his weak side. Take the crucial points. Enlist the natural forces on our side. Use the best methods. Why blunder along thoughtlessly, heedlessly? Alertness is demanded in business—why not in the Christian church? Gideon was a master in campaign. The children of the world are wise in their day and generation—then why not the children of light?

THE DEATH OF SAMSON: Judg. 16:21–31[4]

I. CRITICAL

This story belongs to that large class of folk-tale, popular and common to all untutored people, but of which this is the only considerable remnant in the old Testament. Though chaps. 13–16 are all occupied with our hero, the stories do not form a very closely woven whole. Chaps. 14, 15, dealing

[4] International Sunday-School Lesson for December 1, 1907.

with his marriage with the woman of Timnah and related incidents, stand alone. A conclusion to this story is in the last clause of 15:20. Chap. 16, containing certain features which a religious editor failed to find edifying, may have found a place in the narrative, because of the popular demand which refused to disassociate Samson from these details. Chap. 13, narrating the birth, presents the last feature of the tradition. As canonizing a man always comes after his death, so the wonders of birth and the precocities of youth are pondered on by the public mind after greatness is attested by the deeds of manhood. The whole story, or rather series of stories, is of that type which lends itself to beguile the evening hour at the camp fire, glorying in the physical, sparkling with wit and crude retort, not cleansed from human folly and frailty, and yet withal abounding with vigor and appropriate to enkindle a devoted patriotism.

The literary features of the four chapters are akin to the early Judean narrative. The story has had scarcely any additions by the compiler of the book as it was material which he could not very well use for his religious lesson. Thus we are able to listen to the early tradition practically as it passed from mouth to mouth, and gain a glimpse into early Hebrew life, customs, and ideals from the original documents.

Of recent years many have sought to dissolve Samson into a sun myth. Much ingenious labor has been devoted to this end. The etymology—Samson, little sun—certain other features, and the comparison of the sun myths of other peoples have offered a margin for speculation. But what story cannot be worked up into a myth by an imaginative mind? The whole story on the other hand suggests fact as a basis. Every tribe and every country-side has its strong man, its Samson. The story shows the overgrown boy lacking self-control, and corresponds so closely with what we know to be fact that an effort to resolve it into a myth seems gratuitous.

II. EXPOSITORY

Samson is a man chiefly of physical prowess. Antiquity, which recognizes divine operation in every abnormal activity, perceives in this the manifestation of the spirit of Jehovah. Scarcely can he be called a Judge, and he still less deserves the name of Deliverer. He stands as a solitary hero. His amours, quarrels, and revenges with the Philistines mark the measure of his achievements. The scourge of the enemy, still he was a source of trouble to his friends, who were worse off at the end than at the beginning. It was only after the efforts of Samuel, Saul, and David that Israel had rest from the Philistines.

History claims him as a Nazirite. This is a religious institution of

great age, which persisted down to New Testament times. The requirements of this vow are specified in Num. 6:1–12. Abstinence from the fruit of the vine, separation from a dead body, and long hair are the important regulations. The growing of hair and its offering to deity is very prominent in the religious ritual of many peoples. There is a widespread conviction that special virtue resides in the hair. Samson conforms to the idea expressed in Numbers in only one respect. There is no self-restraint. He comes constantly in touch with death, and wine seems to have been avoided only by his mother. The only link whereby the author can connect him with this sect, famous for their asceticism, is his flowing locks. Otherwise he is not distinguished from an uncircumcised brawler and his life is an example of those things which ought to be avoided.

The story of his life is quickly told. His love for the woman of Timnah comes first with the accompanying episodes; the riddle, the anger, the slaughter of the Philistines, the burning of the barley fields, and the slaughter at Lehi. Then comes his visit to Gaza and next his love for Delilah, who after three failures accomplishes his downfall, of which our lesson is the closing scene.

The Philistines, after subjecting him to the most cruel torture and the grossest indignity, gather in a great feast to mock him whom they once feared. Like all early peoples they ascribe their success to their deity and now give special honor to Dagon. Samson is the chief feature for their sport. Perhaps in the open area before the court he delights them with his now harmless exhibitions of strength. Then he is led to the porch rather than the house, the roof of which is crowded with revelers. With a petition to Jehovah the strong man, in the ecstasy of agony, braces himself against the pillars and with a mighty spasm to right and left, coupled with the unsteady weight above, the pillars give, the roof trembles, and crash! upon pillars and fallen giant the multitude is hurled. Then in his death Samson slew more than in his life.

III. APPLICATION

1. *Great powers may be accompanied by grave dangers.*—Samson's strength was his weakness. How often it is the most promising in the family or nation who falls and fails. How often the brightest intellect becomes the most accomplished villain. All life yields warning against the dangers which frequently accompany great strength.

2. *Good character demands* (*a*) *self-control.* Here Samson teaches us what not to do. The powers of the individual ought to be dominated by the highest ideal; (*b*) *symmetry of body, mind, and heart.* It is not sufficient

that there be the body of an ox. That makes only a brute. Nor is strength of intellect alone desirable. That may produce an intellectual machine, an iconoclast, a cynic. But hand and head and heart ought to keep pace side by side, so that no necessary part is lacking.

3. *True religion* (*a*) *does not consist in externals.* In early stages of religious development, the meal offering, the meat offering; the oil, the incense, the hair; the feast and the fast were the significant symbols of religion. In the greater light we realize that these do not constitute the chief content of religion. Outward forms only suggest, and that imperfectly, the inner reality which is the essence of religion. (*b*) *Nor can true religion be divorced from morality.* The latter is the handmaid to the former. Right living between man and man is the best evidence we can adduce of right relation between the individual and his Maker. A licentious life under no matter what guise it may be found cannot be accounted a truly religious one. "By their fruits ye shall know them."

Current Opinion

Jesus in Modern Criticism

A lecture upon this subject was recently given by Dr. P. W. Schmiedel, professor of theology, University of Zürich. This lecture has been translated into English and published by Messrs. A. & C. Black, London (*6d*). It is of wide interest and of no little importance. Dr. Schmiedel is today one of the leading New Testament scholars of Germany and of the world. In this lecture he has endeavored to state what he considers to be the results of recent study in the life of Jesus. He raises and answers three questions: (1) Did Jesus really live? (2) Did he regard himself as the Messiah? (3) Is his moral teaching adapted to the requirements of the present age?

In answer to the first question, whether Jesus really lived, he restates what in his article in the *Encyclopedia Biblica* he had set forth as "foundation-pillars of a really scientific life of Jesus," and from these nine passages he argues strongly for the view that Jesus was a historical character as Christianity has claimed. He says:

> Together with the foundation-pillars and as a result of them, everything in the first three gospels deserves belief which would tend to establish Jesus' greatness, provided that it harmonizes with the picture produced by the foundation-pillars, and in other respects does not raise suspicion. And this gives us nothing less than pretty well the whole bulk of Jesus' teaching, in so far as its object is to explain in a purely religious and ethical way what God requires of man and wherein man receives comfort and consolation from God. This, moreover, is the point which has marked his importance throughout the centuries, which unites all schools of theology, divided as they are in so many other ways, and, strictly speaking, all Confessions as well, and forms a link between an innumerable army of men and women standing quite aloof from the churches, and the professed followers of Jesus, enfolding all in a great invisible "church."

In answer to the question, Did Jesus regard himself as the Messiah? Dr. Schmiedel claims that the facts prove that he did. He thinks, however, that the consciousness of messiahship came to Jesus not at the time of his baptism in the Jordan, but in the course of his public ministry. He arrived at this conviction through "the need he felt of combating the law of Moses." He found it necessary to depart from the Old Testament law at essential points, and the conviction that God desired him to revise the expression of

his will brought him to a certainty that he was the Messiah who was designed to announce this change.

Jesus' conviction that he was the Messiah was in no sense due to presumption, but was only reached after a hard struggle. He must have felt himself impelled by a new and irresistible will of God, before he could venture to take the field against what had hitherto been regarded as the sole and revealed declaration of his will.

With regard to the third question, Is Jesus' moral teaching adapted to the requirements of the present age? Dr. Schmiedel holds that it is, but not entirely in the way commonly supposed. There are many ethical problems of the present day with which Jesus does not specifically deal, and there are forms of his sayings which do not fit present conditions. But he sets forth a religious and moral ideal, and he lays down religious and moral principles, which are of permanent value and validity.

The limitations under which Jesus' ethical utterances have undoubtedly to be viewed do not, strictly speaking, imperil anything that even a modern ethical system might expect people to be satisfied with, provided that it recognizes as its highest principle the saying, What shall a man be profited if he shall gain the whole world and forfeit his life? . . . . If a modern ethical system dislikes this earnestness, it will certainly never become reconciled to Jesus. But if it possesses it, it will always come into agreement with him at central points, even if it attaches no importance to doing so. I am certainly obliged to say "at central points," or "in fundamentals." A modern ethical system, even when it rests upon a religious foundation, will always come into conflict with particular sayings of Jesus. However, we have long known that we are not absolutely bound by anything in history. And we have the more reason to be satisfied, if, as the result of the freest investigation, we still find ourselves able to hold to the principles of Jesus. And the greatness of Jesus is to be seen precisely in this, that he really lays absolute and positive stress only upon *principles*, leaving their application to the conscience of the individual.

In the conclusion of Dr. Schmiedel's lecture he states comprehensively his conception of Jesus:

In spite of the limitation of Jesus' outlook caused by his sharing the views of his age, he had something to offer which appeals to every human heart in the universe, and is to that extent eternally true. Above all, he possessed a religious nature of such strength and purity as have never, to our knowledge, been combined in any other person. He showed in his own person the truth of the most religious utterance in the Old Testament, "Whom have I in heaven (but thee), and having thee I delight not (in aught that is) upon earth" (Ps. 73:25). And if in this he was one-sided and disregardful of other matters, it was this precisely that enabled him to give to mankind what had not been supplied in any other way,

and to give it in a matter which is, beyond doubt, of the utmost importance because it concerns their spiritual life. The purity of his religion has brought emancipation from the follies of a religion of fear, and from the illusions of a religion of pretensions, of which the Pharisee, compared with the publican in the parable (Luke 18:9–14), is an embodiment. His conviction that piety is the one and all-important thing has brought, to all who are prepared to follow him, redemption from the sins of worldliness and selfishness. But with Jesus' piety is inseparably combined his ethical system, because morality is considered to be nothing more or less than obedience to the will of God. Of the principles in which alone can be found its abiding value, I need here mention again only the most important: it is only the frame of mind that counts; in every act we have to ask whether it has a moral purpose; every deed is to be judged by the standard. Will it bear the gaze of God? And the right frame of mind is one of love toward God, the feeling of a child, so earnest as to make one ready, if need be, to suffer and to die, and of love toward one's neighbor in which may be found the germ that could produce a regard for social needs. In these principles we may truly see a recognition of the true worth of man in the sight of God, of his moral grandeur and his highest destiny; and, viewing the matter in this way, we can echo the words which I learned from one of my most conservative teachers: "Christianity is the truth of humanity."

The Religion of the Masses

There are few persons who do not know Toynbee Hall and its founder, Canon Barnett. Any opinion which he utters on the religious condition of the masses, drawn, as it will be, from thirty-four years of actual intimacy with the subject, deserves the most careful attention. And this word is spoken in the July *Hibbert Journal* in his article, "The Religion of the People." Canon Barnett believes that a really religious life involves (1) thought; (2) a sense of the Not-self, which is higher than the self—that is, of a Most High whose presence convicts a man of his shortcomings and draws him upward; (3) an emotional realization of the Most High which will tell in daily life.

As to these three, Canon Barnett thinks that the masses, and particularly the laboring class, are thinking seriously and radically. His opinion thus corroborates that of most students of the labor movement—that it is being thoroughly leavened by the scientific and agnostic spirit. Canon Barnett finds also that the masses have a sense of God, although they have small use for the church. But he finds the third constituent of religion sadly lacking. The masses hate form, and so lack the sense of the touch of religion on life. In other words, their condition is not unlike that of Rome in the first century. The people have abandoned their church, and in consequence are without religious impulses.

Canon Barnett, however, recognizes that the churches are working vigorously for the masses. In fact, we should infer from his article that there has been a marked increase of church activity among the masses of London.

It is this last fact that needs emphasis now-a-days. We may admit with Canon Barnett that the masses need the higher education, and that larger efforts should be made to bring its blessings to them. Those of us who sometimes despair about the church should realize that organized Christianity is not as derelict as some of its critics would have us believe. The fact is, the Church is doing more for the well-being of the masses than any other institution or movement. It is not doing all that it should, but it is making an effort to do more, and it ought to be given credit for its intention and its efforts. There never was a time when Christian men and women took their social responsibilities more seriously. It is always well to measure the difference between accomplishment and ideal, but it is never well to argue that this distance, however great, annuls the approach actually made toward the ideal. If we are going to criticize the church let us at least be fair enough to give it credit for what it has done and is doing.

A Newly Discovered Writing of Irenaeus

For Christian teaching in the latter part of the second century we are largely dependent on Irenaeus. Accordingly, his work on *Apostolic Preaching*, which has recently been recovered, is of much interest. It was found in the Armenian church of Ecrivan, in an Armenian manuscript. A translation of the Armenian into German has been published, and Mr. Fred C. Conybeare has reviewed the German work for *The Expositor* (July, 1907). Mr. Conybeare's eminent Armenian scholarship enables him to make this review an independent study of the text and to correct some errors into which the German translator had fallen. *The Expositor* article, therefore, provides the English reader with a suggestive summary of Irenaeus' work.

Some of the teachings of Irenaeus thus regained are of much interest. Mr. Conybeare finds that "two-thirds of the work are an elaboration of the theme that Jesus of Nazareth was Messiah, because every phase and act of his life fulfilled and fitted in with some prophecy or another." At the same time, "there is barely any hint of the great Christological controversies which were to rend the church asunder in the fourth and fifth centuries." The work also confirms Irenaeus' view expressed in the *Adv. Haer.* (2. 22. 4–6), that Jesus lived to be nearly fifty years old. Mr.

Conybeare agrees with Harnack that this view is "after all the only straightforward interpretation" of John 2:21 also. Of course it is not the interpretation of the ordinary reader; and one wonders how many scholarly readers find the verse to mean that Jesus was forty-six years old at the time mentioned. On the face of the passage the forty-six years seem to have no relation to the age of Jesus; for the writer sharply distinguishes the temple of which the Jews said that it had been forty-six years in building, and the body of Jesus, of which he understood Jesus to have spoken, and by this distinction explains their remark. Again, this work shows how Irenaeus taught that the baptismal formula, which he gives differently from that in Matt. 28:19, had been handed down to him by "the elders, the disciples of the apostles." Mr. Conybeare thinks this very strange, if Irenaeus had before him "the direct precept of the Lord" as given in Matthew. It is hardly so strange, however, if the statement is read in the light of Irenaeus' high estimate of the testimony from the elders as he used it in the *Adv. Haer.*, where this testimony (e. g., in 2. 22. 5 and 5. 33. 3, 4) furnished his primary evidence, the gospel and Papias being employed only as confirmatory. For Irenaeus, the oral testimony of the elders was of first importance.

Is Mysticism an Essential Element in Christianity?

Readers of Herrmann's *Communion with God* will remember his polemic against mysticism on the ground that it is a type of religious experience which contains no essentially Christian elements. In the July number of the *American Journal of Theology*, Professor McGiffert publishes a suggestive historical sketch of mysticism in the early church. He finds two types of religious experience well established. One is the Pauline and Johannine conception of salvation, as the actual presence in one's inner life of the divine Christ as a spiritual power. The other is the more common conception of religion as involving a volitional relation to an external divine sovereign. Professor McGiffert shows that mysticism is the very heart of Paulinism. Indeed, if his estimate is correct, we have in Paul a very substantial sacramental presence of deity in Christian experience. Even the other, more external and legalistic type of religion is vitalized by the more or less frequent presence and control of the Holy Spirit. If we do not insist on identifying mysticism with physical or metaphysical union with the Absolute, Jesus may be called a mystic.

The modern tendency to abandon the conception of God as an exterior sovereign and to adopt belief in the divine immanence means the abandonment of legalistic views of religion. Our relation to an immanent God

must be in some sense mystical. If Christianity cannot furnish a pathway for this mysticism, we shall see a still further growth of Christian Science, New Thought, and kindred mystical movements. The religion of the coming age will inevitably be mystical, because of our modern view of the universe. Is this mysticism to be ethical or non-ethical? That is the supreme question. It would seem that only an interpretation of Christianity which recognizes the rights of an ethical mysticism can meet the crisis.

Are We Outgrowing the God of Our Theology?

This question is raised by Professor Herbert A. Youtz of Montreal in an article entitled "Three Conceptions of God," published in the July number of the *American Journal of Theology*. Supernaturalism pictures the universe in two parts—earth and heaven. God resides in heaven and rules the world from without. The classic theologies of both Catholicism and Protestantism have been constructed on the basis of this dualistic view of the universe. Religion means using this world as a place of probation preparatory to entering the supernatural. The Copernican astronomy has made impossible this dualistic view; and if theology is bound up with the world-view which modern scientific thought rejects, the God of that theology will disappear when his heaven vanishes. Atheism or agnosticism is the result of the scientist's criticism of supernaturalism. Many earnest men and women today are trying desperately to retain some elements of the old supernatural; but it is a losing fight for most. If we are to find God in modern times, he must be found in this world of present experience. Thus the doctrine of the divine immanence becomes as fundamental for modern monism as was the doctrine of divine revelation for the older dualism. The query which immediately rises is whether we can escape pantheism. The whole problem of theology is changed by this world-view. We are no longer concerned to vindicate an extraordinary revelation, or to analyze the concept of a perfect Being; but rather to ask whether our experience of the reality of which we are a part is, when fairly analyzed, of such a character as to warrant the affirmation of a purposeful, benevolent intelligence active in the universe. It would seem that we are on the threshold of a new epoch in theological construction.

The Psychology of the Prophet

A field of considerable interest is opened up in a discussion of the "Psychology of Prophecy" by Rabbi Jacob H. Kaplan in *The American Journal of Religious Psychology and Education*, of December, 1906, to June, 1907. While we may not agree with the author's data and conclusions,

the subject itself is one that should invite careful attention. Premonition, in the judgment of the writer, is the starting-point of the prophetic call. This is described as "simply an intuition, an instinctive cognition of future events." This premonition of Israel's destruction which wrought with consuming effect on the prophet's mind and soul constituted God's call to the prophetic office. The psychology of revelation on the basis of this call was "some 'uprush' of impressions from the subjective mind to the objective mind, or from below the threshold of consciousness to consciousness itself." A review of the psychology of dreams will illustrate the author's method of treatment. Taking the position of Ribot that all sensations may be resensed or refelt, and that visual impressions are most easily reproduced, and therefore most operative in sleeping states, he finds (1) that "prophetic dreams, as non-prophetic dreams, are conditioned absolutely by the content of the dreamer's consciousness, which content in all cases is again conditioned by psychological experiences through regular avenues of sense and perception." Following the suggestion of Heraclitus that "in waking states we have all a common world, while in sleep we have each a world of our own," he deduces, (2) that "while the prophets move and live in a common world around them, in their sleep they move and live in the world that had been revealed to them through the prophetic call," and in "their private world of dream, moved by the promptings of their intense feelings, saw the glorious splendor of the heavens and heard the things nearest their hearts . . . . which were so realistic that they could be interpreted in only one way, namely, as Revelations, direct communications from God." Under great nervous strain the subconscious mind works out the problem, or solves the difficulty, more profoundly than "could have been done in the waking state, because the sub-conscious mind can seize upon *all* the recorded knowledge as data for the solution." In this way the prophets become (3) "conscious of truths so profound, of solutions of religion, of state and society so far-reaching and sublime, that they themselves were startled at the results and felt with sincere piety: Not unto me, O Lord, but unto Thee, belongs all glory."

Prophetic vision and audition are similarly treated. They are "subjective phenomena, usually the result of centrally stimulated cerebral impressions, indirectly the result of profound interest and thought." In spite of this rational rendering, the writer informs us that he rejects "the theory of poetic phraseology in cases of prophetic audition, but takes it literally when the prophet says he heard the voice of God."

Inspiration in the light of psychology "is the highest eloquence of thought, speech, or action, a result of the temperament, power, inheritance,

energy of genius, under the exhilaration and stimulation of some great enthusiasm and mental excitement" and "is so profound and beyond the subject's normal ability as to carry the conviction that some mysterious power, the spirit of God, has wrought the result through him."

It is unfortunate that the author has chosen so much material that may not meet with the approving judgment of recognized scholars. However, he has rendered a service in calling attention to a theme of increasing importance.

"By Their Fruits Ye Shall Know Them"

Two recent articles on the general theme of Christian Missions interestingly supplement one another. In the July issue of the *American Journal of Theology* Dr. H. Rashdall, of New College, Oxford, discusses the "Motive of Modern Missionary Work." Maintaining that the progress of modern theological thought has brought about a considerable change in our conception of the relation of Christianity to other religions and in our practical attitude toward missions, he yet insists that a non-missionary Christianity is a contradiction in terms, and that every motive that is sufficient to induce a man to promote the work of the church at home justifies and demands the effort to promote Christianity in non-Christian countries. The duty of assisting missions depends, he declares, in the long run upon the good which the mission does, and he suggests that missionary advocates should insist more than they sometimes do upon the actual moral and social results of their work. The current issue of the *Journal of Sociology* contains an article on "Political Values of the American Missionary," by Henry William Rankin. With evident wealth of information and with abundant citation of unprejudiced testimony Mr. Rankin maintains that in promoting international relations of reciprocal advantage between the Orient and the Occident, and the political welfare of oriental countries, the missionary, especially the protestant American missionary, has been and is the most powerful and salutary influence in the whole situation.

In this connection we are constrained to remind our readers once more of the three monumental volumes of Dr. Dennis on *Christian Missions and Social Progress*. To the argument presented by this masterly work and by such articles as that of Mr. Rankin there is no reply, except that which is based on a premise of pure individual or national selfishness.

Book Reviews

Pauline and Other Studies in Early Christian History. By W. M. Ramsay. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son, 1906. Pp. 415. $3.50.

This volume consists of fourteen essays all but one of which had been previously published—essays which the author believes possess "a certain unity of character as a survey of important movements and men in the early Christian centuries."

The first essay, "Shall We Hear Evidence or Not?" deals with what the author regards as "the greatest event" in the life of Paul, viz., his experience on the road to Damascus. There is in it a considerable element of polemic, not without a touch of sarcasm, against those who think that Paul's experience was some form of madness. Although the title suggests a calm, dispassionate, and judicial discussion, one cannot honestly say that it always maintains this character. Matters purely hypothetical are sometimes stated as though well-attested facts. Thus we are told that "Saul in his youth was mainly occupied with the thought of Hebrew progress in the past, and the coming triumph of Hebrew religion." A little later on we read that Saul "must from childhood have been filled with the desire and hope of hearing for himself the Divine voice."

Again, since the author confessedly speaks as "a historian and geographer," one cannot fail to notice the dogmatic tone that marks some of his purely theological utterances. Thus he refers several times to that which was manifested to Paul near Damascus as the "Divine Nature." Paul was then permitted to become "aware of the omnipresent God who is everywhere around us and in us." The author does not shrink from saying that Paul saw God near Damascus (p. 71) and knew that Jesus was God (p. 72). It may very properly be doubted whether there is any marked difference between the tenableness of this language and that which ascribes Paul's experience to madness, against which the author is justly moved to protest.

It of course was not accidental that in this discussion of the evidence for a superhuman event in Paul's experience the most important passage in the apostle's own words is not touched. The result of the omission of the Galatian passage and the Galatian point of view, according to which the essential part of the experience near Damascus was an inner revelation to Paul's spirit, is to give altogether undue prominence to the external

circumstances of the event. With this lack of balance may be placed also the fault of ascribing to Paul what should plainly be ascribed to Jesus. Thus the author declares that Paul has not only moved the world and changed the whole course of history, but has also "made us what we are." This sounds more like a voice out of the beginning of the sixteenth century, when men spoke of the epistle to the Romans as the "purest gospel," than like the utterance of a contemporary in the twentieth century, when Christ rather than Paul is recognized as the founder of Christianity.

The chapter on "The Statesmanship of Paul" treats the subject as "an episode in Roman history." It is said that "the impelling thought in his mind from boyhood was that the religion revealed to the Hebrew race must conquer and must govern the Roman world." This idea of the triumph of Judaism "naturally developed into Christianity," and Paul by his great work "made possible that unity at which the Imperial policy was aiming." Now while it is quite conceivable that Paul cherished the hope of planting the gospel throughout the entire Roman empire, the reader of the essay before us is not convinced that he cherished this hope as a Roman citizen with the welfare of Rome at heart, or that he had any plan to perpetuate the Roman organization. The fundamental hypothesis of the chapter, interesting though it is, seems to rest on an entirely insecure foundation.

One is struck by the positive tone in some of the incidental points in this chapter, where the grounds of positive conclusions are well known to be wanting. Thus we read, "It is as certain that he (Paul) spoke the Latin language as it is that he was a Roman citizen." But we know from his own lips that he was a Roman citizen, while there is nothing in the New Testament that even definitely implies his knowledge of Latin, to say nothing of asserting it. Again, it is affirmed that Paul was never married, and even the reason why he remained unmarried is known. It was because he had chosen "the Divine life." We know of no foundation for this view and regard it as thoroughly un-Pauline.

In the seventh essay the author declares that no progress is to be made in the understanding of Acts except by completely disregarding both the critical and the traditional views alike, and also by recognizing that Paul spoke as a Roman citizen, and that accordingly "Galatia" means the Roman province of that name.

Touching Acts 19:39 the author holds in the eighth essay that the Authorised Version which has "lawful assembly" is preferable to the Revision which substitutes "regular" for "lawful." He agrees with Lévy that at this time meetings in the Greek cities like Ephesus were held only

at the instance of the Roman officials, and that extraordinary assemblies called by the officers of the city were or were becoming illegal.

One of the best essays in the volume is that on "The Olive-Tree and the Wild-Olive." The author adopts the view of Theobald Fischer, a professional botanist who has made a long study of Mediterranean fruits, that the olive tree is sometimes renewed by grafting with shoots of the wild olive. This he holds is the process to which Paul refers, who, accordingly, was not contemplating an impossible procedure, as has often been supposed by commentators, but an actual means in use among horticulturists.

The twelfth essay is a sharp critique of the "source-theory" of Acts, and the thirteenth aims to show the inadequacy of Baring Gould's view of Paul.

The eleventh essay on "St. Paul's Road from Cilicia to Iconium," beautifully illustrated with pictures by Mrs. Ramsay, shows the author at his best. Here he speaks simply as "a historian and geographer."

GEORGE H. GILBERT

NORTHAMPTON, MASS.

Arab and Druze at Home: A Record of Travel and Intercourse with the Peoples East of the Jordan. By WILLIAM EWING, M.A., five years resident at Tiberias. Edinburgh: T. C. & E. C. Jack, 1907. Pp. xiii + 180. 5*s*.

This book by the writer of the article "Hospitality," in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, is one of the most delightful of the many books descriptive of Palestine, which in increasing numbers appear every year. Its charm lies in part in the fact that it describes the region east of the Jordan which comparatively few travelers reach, partly in the delightful style of the writer, and partly in the fact that the author was for five years a missionary at Tiberias and had time to become thoroughly acquainted with the customs of the country, descriptions of which he weaves in an interesting way into his narrative of travel. The book describes a journey from Damascus through the Hauran via Zora and various points in Gebel ed-Druze, Bozra, Jerash, es-Salt, and Jericho to Jerusalem. Facts gathered on other journeys into the territory are interwoven, but the whole is grouped about the narrative of this one journey. The narrative is illustrated by excellent photographs, and altogether we are presented with an attractive book.

One drawback we are, however, bound to note. The journey described occurred in 1890, seventeen years ago. While this, perhaps makes little difference to the general reader, who desires simply the description

of the country and the manners and customs of the people, it makes a great difference to the archaeologist. In seventeen years great changes may take place in the antiquities described, especially if in those years the Haj railway is built and the number of Circassians in the region is increased. The reviewer had the pleasure of visiting a part of this region in 1903, and can but note what ravages have been made since Ewing's observations were made.

This applies with less force, however, to the region of El-Leja and Gebel ed-Druze where the remains are constructed of hard basaltic rock, than to Jerash.

Ewing's experiences of travel were not without adventure and these add a piquant element to the story. His sketch of the (then) recent history of the Druzes and his description of these people as he saw them is valuable and welcome. The traditions which he gathered with reference to the Islamic conquest of Bozra places interesting material in the hands of English readers, as does his translation of a Cufic inscription at the same place. His treatment of matters of scholarship is generally good; we notice only one exception. On page 59 he identifies *Beitin* with Bethaven, saying that the site of ancient Bethel is unknown, whereas the best modern scholars identify *Beitin* with Bethel. The philological change of *l* into its kindred lingual *n* Ewing has overlooked. *Beitin* is thus the lineal descendant of the name Bethel.

On the whole, however, the book is a delightful one. Written by a scholarly missionary, it combines the religious interest and the religious attitude with much interesting description of customs which illustrate the biblical narrative, and all is presented in such a clear and delightful style that it is a very valuable book for any Bible student, who wishes to have oriental customs which he does not know illuminate for him the sacred page.

The scholar, too, cannot afford to overlook the volume, for it treats intelligently of a part of Palestine on which the literature is all too small.

GEORGE A. BARTON

BRYN MAWR, PA.

The Prayers of the Bible. By JOHN E. MCFADYEN. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son, 1906. Pp. 388.

"The Bible is richer in prayers than is commonly supposed, and it may be doubted whether they have generally received the attention which they deserve." These are the opening words of the Preface to a recent book entitled *The Prayers of the Bible*, written by Professor John Edgar McFadyen of Knox College, Toronto. The author states that the volume

is "an attempt to understand biblical prayer by an examination of the prayers and allusions to prayer, and it seeks to gather up the results of the examination and to apply them to the public and private devotions of today." In accord with this purpose, the author collects all the prayers of the Bible and arranges them topically, and, in the Old Testament, chronologically as well. This collection enables the Bible student to trace very readily the development of prayer in Bible times. In a similar manner are arranged the biblical prayers which are adapted to modern use.

The two collections occupy about one-third of the volume. In the rest of the book the author discusses the nature and character of biblical prayer and some subjects connected with modern prayer. One chapter deals with the naturalness of biblical prayer. "Prayer is regarded throughout the Bible as natural—natural as the existence of need and the sense of God; and as need is universal, prayer is the privilege of all." The development of prayer from the earliest Old Testament times to the close of the New Testament period receives admirable treatment. "Prayer underwent development, and this, no doubt, accounts for its simplicity and comparative infrequency in the earlier records of the Old Testament. . . . . The relative prominence of prayer in post-exilic, as compared with pre-exilic, literature is no accident." He points out also that the character of prayer underwent a change.

> Generally speaking, there is an advance from the material to the spiritual. In the earlier times, God was seen only, or at least most clearly, in His gifts. Men longed for them, partly because in them they found Him. But in course of time they learned to love Him apart from them, and, even without them, to be content with Him. The descendants of the men who had prayed for the abundance of corn and wine and oil learned to pray for the nearer presence of God and for the spread of the gospel of Christ.

Prayer in the New Testament receives careful consideration in several chapters. Concerning the difference between prayer in the Old Testament and prayer in the New Testament, Professor McFadyen has this to say:

> In the New Testament, with one remarkable exception, there is little that is really new in the mode of address to God; but the difference—which is profound—between the two Testaments lies in a change of emphasis. There he was often God, seldom Father; here he is usually Father, and seldom God alone.

The difference which Jesus made was to place the fatherhood of God in the center of religious thinking. Therefore,

> the form and spirit that characterize true Christian prayer ultimately rest upon a clear recognition of all that is involved in the fatherhood of God. It is this that makes prayer brief—for the Father knows; and it is this that makes it grateful and glad—for the Father cares.

Three chapters are devoted to the discussion, in the light of biblical prayer, of modern private prayer, its nature, contents, form, and effects, and of the legitimacy and value of fixed forms of prayer in public service.

The method of the author is scientific, the spirit devout. The results of modern criticism are presupposed throughout the entire book; but, as Professor McFadyen says: "The heart of the matter is not in the least affected by the findings of criticism. A prayer is a prayer, whatever be its date, and whoever composed it."

The study of biblical prayer is of interest alike to the student of the Bible and to the man of religious life and temper, whether he be a student or not. To both, this volume will prove of interest and value.

FREDERICK CARL EISELEN

GARRETT BIBLICAL INSTITUTE
Evanston, Ill.

Egypt through the Stereoscope: A Journey through the Land of the Pharaohs. Conducted by JAMES HENRY BREASTED. New York: Underwood & Underwood, 1905. Pp. 360+20 maps and plans+100 stereoscopic views.

The stay-at-homes are taken care of in this collection of material. The sight-seer takes his imaginary position at one of one hundred places in Egypt, and from each of these "standpoints" gets a view through the stereoscope. While he is enjoying with his eyes the beauties of the scene, the conductor regales his ears with a story of the history that has been made on the spot. He recalls the ancient strength, magnificence, and glory of Egypt, with all its claim on our present attention. Almost every "standpoint" gives the imaginary traveler an idea both of the present-day Orient and of some remnant of the ancient Egyptian world.

These "standpoints" begin at Pompey's pillar and are found distributed up the country as far as Khartum. The conductor's familiarity with the land of the Pharaohs, and his enthusiasm over everything Egyptian, leads us to expect just what we find, viz.: a series of vivid, picturesque, and eloquent stories. We find, too, that his expert knowledge of the history of Egypt fills his narratives with useful and reliable information about one of the oldest civilizations of the world.

By the use of the maps and plans and pictures, you can tour Egypt in your easy chair, and enjoy every mile of the trip, and thereafter be ready to include this country in your mental horizon. If you should ever visit it, you will be partially equipped for an appreciation that otherwise

would be impossible. This material equipment is put up in the substantial form that always characterizes the work of Underwood & Underwood.

IRA M. PRICE

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Realities of Christian Theology. By CLARENCE AUGUSTUS BECKWITH. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1906. Pp. xiv+406. $2.

Professor Beckwith, seeing the theological perplexity prevailing today, has attempted to show that from the standpoint of experience, however unsatisfactory may be the theoretical expositions of Christian doctrines, they yet represent genuinely vital interests of life, as tested by psychology, ethics, and modern science. The book bears the subtitle, "An Interpretation of Christian Experience." The reader who comes to it from the point of view of modern empirical science, however, will probably feel that it is in reality an apologetic for the historical doctrines of traditional theology—an apologetic which penetrates beneath the form of the doctrine in order to get at its vital kernel. The statement of the author in his preface, that there is universal agreement that, "whatever the differences of past or present explanations of Christian belief, the Christian experience of today is essentially the same that it has been from the beginning," will hardly find so universal an assent as he supposes. Experience, if it mean anything at all, must include the doctrinal beliefs of an age as well as the religious aspirations. There are doctrines which have never been disproved, but which have fallen into disuse just because the religious experience of today has changed. And it is precisely this new religious experience which makes some of the older doctrines seem artificial to many men today. A true study of Christianity, therefore, cannot assume the immutability of Christian experience.

Leaving this fundamental criticism of the method of the book, we may express our admiration of the vital way in which Professor Beckwith, with genuine historical sympathy, has penetrated beneath the formal elements of doctrine, and has discovered the essential reality of the great spiritual issues with which theology deals. The Bible is set forth as a book of spiritual experience rather than as a compendium of finished doctrines. God is shown to be a most human-like Father, even to the extent of suffering in order to redeem his children. Sin is defined in terms of ethical delinquency, not in non-moral terms of "nature." Jesus becomes the great spiritual hero of the race, expressing in himself the character of God so that contact

with Jesus brings one into contact with God. The religious life is shown to be a real experience of the potency of the presence of God in life. The future is shown to be a dynamic outcome of the processes of life here.

The use of the traditional formulae with new content sometimes leaves the reader in doubt as to just what Professor Beckwith would affirm. For example, he speaks of the divine element in Christ as the presence in him of the eternal principle of self-revelation in God. Does this mean the personal pre-existence of Christ? Somewhat the same vagueness, reminding one of the peculiar position of the Ritschlian theology, attaches to his exposition of the Christian's contact with the risen Christ. In the endeavor to hold fast to the truth in the doctrine of the two natures in Christ, he says, "our idea of God is identical with our idea of love." The principle of divine love in Christ, then, may be distinguished from his human experience. But does not a divine nature mean something more than this in Christ? If not, is it not a mere value-judgment?

As an example of frankness, religious insight, and broad sympathies, the book is highly to be commended. It shows how the historical statements of doctrine may be made to express the modern religious convictions. And that there is a great advantage in retaining the formulae which are embodied in all our creeds there can be no doubt. Whether the scientific understanding of the fundamental problems of religious experience and of theology will be promoted by this method of interpretation is another question.

GERALD BIRNEY SMITH

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Books for Old Testament Study

JOHN MERLIN POWIS SMITH
The University of Chicago

IV. INTERPRETATION

1. COMMENTARIES ON THE ENTIRE OLD TESTAMENT

The International Critical Commentary on the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments. Edited by C. A. Briggs, S. R. Driver, and Alfred Plummer. New York: Scribners, 1895–. About $3.00 a volume.

Eight volumes are already published; see below in connection with the various individual books of the Old Testament.

The New-Century Bible. General Editor, Walter F. Adeney. Revised Version with Notes, Index, and Maps. New York: Frowde, 1904–. $0.90 a volume.

Nine volumes are now published; see below.

The Expositor's Bible. Expository Lectures on all the Books of the Bible by the Foremost Preachers and Theologians of the Day. Edited by W. Robertson Nicoll. New York: Armstrongs, 1887–. $1.50 a volume.

The Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges. General Editors for the Old Testament, J. S. Perowne and A. F. Kirkpatrick. Cambridge: University Press, 1883–. About $0.75 per volume.

The Westminster Commentaries. Edited by Walter Lock, D.D. New York: E. S. Gorham, 1904–.

Two volumes thus far published; see below.

The Churchman's Bible. General Editor, John Henry Burn, D.D. London: Methuen & Co., 1901–.

One volume only has yet appeared; see below.

An American Commentary on the Old Testament. Philadelphia: The American Baptist Publication Society, 1904–.

Five volumes are already published; see below.

Handkommentar zum Alten Testament. In Verbindung mit anderen Fachgelehrten herausgegeben von W. Nowack. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1892–1903. Entire series, paper, M. 75; half leather, M. 95.

Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament. In Verbindung mit I. Benzinger, A. Bertholet, K. Budde, B. Duhm, H. Holzinger, und G. Wildeboer herausgegeben von Karl Marti. Tübingen: Mohr, 1897–1904. Price for entire series, paper, M. 76; half leather, M. 96.

Kurzgefasster Kommentar zu den heiligen Schriften Alten und Neuen Testamentes, so wie zu den Apokryphen. Unter Mitwirkung von Berger (Ansbach),

Klostermann (Kiel), Kübel (Tübingen), Luthardt (Leipzig), Meinhold (Greifswald), Nösgen (Rostock), von Orelli (Basel), Oettli (Bern), Schnedermann (Basel), Schultz (Breslau), herausgegeben von Hermann Strack und Otto Zöckler. Nördlingen: Beck, 1887–.

Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch zum Alten Testament. Leipzig: Hirzel, 1843–. Includes volumes by Knobel, Hitzig, Diestel, Olshausen, Dillmann, Kittel, etc.

Biblischer Commentar über das Alte Testament. C. F. Keil und Franz Delitzsch Leipzig: Dörffling und Franke, 1866–.

The best English commentary on the Old Testament is the INTERNATIONAL CRITICAL COMMENTARY; it is critical and scholarly, representing the best learning of the English-speaking peoples, and not inferior in quality to the commentaries of any language. The NEW-CENTURY BIBLE is less technical than the foregoing but is controlled by a no less scholarly spirit; it is intended for non-professional students and is well adapted to meet their needs. The EXPOSITOR'S BIBLE is homiletic in tone and popular in aim; its volumes are of very unequal merit; the more valuable of the series are cited in connection with the individual books. The well-known CAMBRIDGE BIBLE is distinctly popular in aim; some of its volumes are of great value, but the majority of them cannot be recommended. The WESTMINSTER COMMENTARIES (continuing the series begun as the OXFORD COMMENTARIES) is described by the general editor as "less elementary than the Cambridge Bible, less critical than the International Critical Commentary, less didactic than the Expositor's Bible;" the two volumes thus far published support this statement and seem well calculated to meet the needs of intelligent laymen. The CHURCHMAN'S BIBLE presents the Authorized Version with brief notes and introductions. It is intended to be practical and helpful to the devotional life, while at the same time paying due regard to interests of scholarship. The scholarship of the AMERICAN COMMENTARY is of somewhat mediocre quality as a whole; but the critical attitude is cautious and will commend itself to many people. It is intended for rather wide use.

Among German commentaries the HANDKOMMENTAR of Nowack and the KURZER HAND-COMMENTAR by Marti represent the high-water mark of critical scholarship; Nowack's series presents a new translation and a somewhat more cautious attitude toward the text than Marti's series; the latter furnishes fuller notes in compensation for the missing translation. The KURZGEFASSTER KOMMENTAR of Strack and Zöckler is essentially conservative in spirit, though recognizing the legitimacy and necessity of the historical and critical method; its learning is competent and reliable. The EXEGETISCHES HANDBUCH was the critical commentary of a previous generation of scholars, and some of its volumes are still of value; new editions thoroughly revised and brought up to date have been made of several volumes. The BIBLISCHER COMMENTAR of Keil and Delitzsch was a learned and conservative work, many volumes of which were translated into English; the only ones of special value now are certain ones by Delitzsch himself, which were completely rewritten by him in his last years.

2. COMMENTARIES ON THE SEPARATE BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

A. THE HEXATEUCH

Dillmann, A. Genesis Critically and Exegetically Expounded. Translated from the last edition by Wm. B. Stevenson. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1897. Two volumes. Pp. 939. $6.

Driver, S. R. The Book of Genesis with Introduction and Notes [*Westminster Commentaries*]. New York: E. S. Gorham, 1904. Pp. 494. 10*s.* 6*d.*

Bennett, W. H. Genesis—Introduction, Revised Version, with Notes and Index [*The New-Century Bible*]. New York: Frowde, 1904. Pp. 412. $0.90.

Delitzsch, Franz. A New Commentary on Genesis. Translated by S. Taylor. London: Hamilton, 1889. Pp. 406. 10*s.* 6*d.*

Dods, M. The Book of Genesis [*The Expositor's Bible*]. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son, 1893. Pp. 453. $1.50.

Mitchell, H. G. The World Before Abraham According to Gen. i–xi. With Introduction to the Pentateuch. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1901. Pp. 301. $1.75.

Ryle, H. E. The Early Narratives of Genesis. A Brief Introduction to the Study of Genesis i–xi. New York: Macmillan & Co., 1892. Pp. 138. $0.75.

Gunkel, H. Genesis übersetzt und erklärt [*Handkommentar zum Alten Testament*]. 2d ed. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1902. Pp. 528. M. 9.80.

Holzinger, H. Genesis erklärt [*Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament*]. Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr, 1898. Pp. 308. M. 6.

Strack, H. L. Genesis (2d ed., 1905), Exodus, Leviticus, Numeri [*Kurzgefasster Kommentar zu den heiligen Schriften Alten und Neuen Testamentes*]. Munich: C. H. Beck, 1905. Pp. 528. M. 8.50.

Hummelauer, F. de. Commentarius in Genesin [*Cursus Scripturae sacrae*]. Paris: Lethielleux, 1895. Pp. 613. Fr. 10.

Meinhold, J. Die biblische Urgeschichte, I Mose 1–12, gemeinverständlich dargestellt. Bonn: A. Marcus und E. Weber, 1904. Pp. 175. M. 2.60.

Gunkel, H. Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit. Eine religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung über Gen. 1 und Ap. Joh. 12. Mit Beiträgen von Heinrich Zimmern. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1895. Pp. 445. M. 10.

Holzinger, H. Exodus erklärt. Mit acht Abbildungen. [*Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament*]. Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr, 1900. Pp. 175. M. 3.

Baentsch, B. Exodus-Leviticus-Numeri übersetzt und erklärt [*Handkommentar zum Alten Testament*]. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1900–03. Pp. 784. M. 13.80.

Dillmann, A. Die Bücher Exodus und Leviticus [*Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch zum Alten Testament*]. 3d ed. by Ryssel. Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1897. Pp. 710. M. 12.

Hummelauer, F. de. Commentarii in Exodum et Leviticum [*Cursus Scripturae sacrae*]. Paris: Lethielleux, 1897. Pp. 560. Fr. 10.

Genung, G. F. The Book of Leviticus [*An American Commentary on the Old Testament*]. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1906. Pp. xvi+108. $2. [Bound in same volume with Numbers.]

Bertholet, A. Leviticus erklärt [*Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament*]. Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr, 1901. Pp. 124. M. 2.40.

Gray, G. B. A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Numbers [*The International Critical Commentary*]. New York: Scribners, 1903. Pp. lii+489. $3.

Genung, G. F. The Book of Numbers [*An American Commentary on the Old*

Testament]. Philadelphia: The American Baptist Publication Society, 1906. Pp. xii+144. $2. [Bound in same volume with Leviticus.]

Holzinger, H. Numeri erklärt [*Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament*]. Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr, 1903. Pp. 194. M. 3.75.

Hummelauer, F. de. Commentarius in Numeros [*Cursus Scripturae sacrae*, ed. Fr. de Hummelauer, Pars 4]. Paris: Lethielleux, 1899. Pp. 393. Fr. 6.

Dillmann, A. Die Bücher Numeri, Deuteronomium und Josua [*Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch*]. 2d ed. Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1886. Pp. 690. M. 11.

Driver, S. R. A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Deuteronomy [*International Critical Commentary*]. New York: Scribners, 1895. Pp. cxix+434. $3.

Harper, A. The Book of Deuteronomy [*Expositor's Bible*]. New York: A. C. Armstrong, 1895. Pp. 502. $1.50

Bertholet, A. Deuteronomium erklärt [*Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament*]. Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr, 1899. Pp. 149. M. 2.40.

Steuernagel, C. Uebersetzung und Erklärung der Bücher Deuteronomium und Josua, und allgemeine Einleitung in den Hexateuch [*Handkommentar zum Alten Testament*]. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1900. Pp. lxii +286. M. 6.40.

Oettli, S. Deuteronomium, Buch Josua und Buch Richter. Nebst Karte von Palästina von Fischer und Guthe. [Strack-Zöckler's *Kurzgefasster Kommentar*]. Munich: C. H. Beck, 1893. Pp. 320. M. 6.

Hummelauer, F. de. Commentarius in Deuteronomium [*Cursus Scripturae sacrae*]. Paris: Lethielleux, 1901. Pp. 576. Fr. 10.

Holzinger, H. Das Buch Josua erklärt [*Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament*]. Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr, 1901. Pp. 125. M. 2.50.

Hummelauer, F. de. Commentarius in Librum Josue [*Cursus Scripturae sacrae*]. Paris: Lethielleux, 1902. Pp. 528. Fr. 10.

DILLMANN'S *Genesis* continues to be the most learned commentary on this book. Its critical viewpoint is now in part abandoned, but the volumes are indispensable to a thorough study of Genesis. DRIVER is the best commentary on Genesis for the majority of Bible students; it is popular and yet scientific, though conservative, in its criticism. BENNETT'S handy volume maintains the good reputation of the series to which it belongs. DELITZSCH'S volume on Genesis is the standard authority of its generation, and still valuable for careful, grammatical exegesis and interpretative insight. DODS is expository and homiletical in aim and well suited to non-technical students. MITCHELL and RYLE treat the old stories of Gen., chaps. 1–11, in a simple, intelligible manner, and both, but especially Mitchell, are good guides to the elementary student. GUNKEL'S is the indispensable book on Genesis today, chiefly because of its attitude toward the traditions of ancient Israel. HOLZINGER represents the best analytical work on the sources of Genesis and is a necessary tool in a close study of the book. STRACK represents a conservative attitude toward the analysis together with sound learning. HUMMELAUER'S volumes represent orthodox Catholic scholarship, characterized by an uncritical attitude toward the sources. MEINHOLD furnishes a first-class piece of work on Gen., chaps. 1–12. GUNKEL'S *Schöpfung* was the path-breaker in a route now followed by many.

Unfortunately there is at present no English commentary on Exodus that is worth buying; and for Leviticus one is limited to GENUNG, which is popular in aim, but halting in scholarship and wavering in critical attitude, or the Polychrome text of Leviticus in English translation by DRIVER and WHITE, where

a careful critical analysis of sources and a few illuminating interpretative notes may be found. Among the German works, BAENTSCH, BERTHOLET, and HOLZINGER represent the best in modern scholarship. DILLMANN is a mine of information on everything involved in the interpretation of the Hexateuch.

On Numbers, GRAY'S commentary is unapproached in value by any other; its especial strength is in the full and accurate treatment of the large amount of archaeological material that Numbers presents. GENUNG is a poor substitute for Gray, but of some use to those unable to take advantage of the splendid resources of the latter. BAENTSCH and HOLZINGER are thoroughly good commentaries.

On Deuteronomy, DRIVER sets the standard for English readers. For the less technical student HARPER has done good work. Of German authorities BERTHOLET is the best; STEUERNAGEL lays out some new lines of investigation; and OETTLI represents the conservative wing of the critical school.

There is no good English commentary on Joshua. But for those who read German good provision is made in STEUERNAGEL, HOLZINGER, and OETTLI.

B. THE HISTORICAL BOOKS

Moore, G. F. Judges [*International Critical Commentary*]. New York: Scribners, 1895. Pp. l+476. $2.50.

Thatcher, G. W. Judges and Ruth [*New-Century Bible*]. New York: Frowde, 1905. Pp. 199. $0.90.

Budde, K. Das Buch der Richter [*Kurzer Hand-Commentar z. A. T.*]. Leipzig: Mohr, 1897. Pp. xxiv+147. M. 3.60.

Budde, K. Die Bücher Richter und Samuel, ihre Quellen und ihre Aufbau. Giessen: Ricker, 1890. Pp. viii+276. M. 7.50.

Nowack, W. Richter, Ruth und die Bücher Samuelis [*Handkommentar z. A. T.*]. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1900–02. Pp. xxviii+201; xxxiv+262. M. 10.60.

Smith, H. P. The Books of Samuel [*Inter. Crit. Com.*]. New York: Scribners, 1899. Pp. xxxix+421. $3 net.

Kennedy, A. R. S. Samuel [*New-Century Bible*]. New York: Frowde, 1905. Pp. 336. $0.90.

Driver, S. R. Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel. With Introduction on Hebrew Palaeography and the Ancient Versions, and facsimiles of Inscriptions. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1890. Pp. xcvi+296. $3.25.

Budde, K. Die Bücher Samuel [*Kurzer Hand-Commentar z. A. T.*]. Leipzig: Mohr, 1902. Pp. xxvii+343. M. 7.

Löhr, Max. Thenius' Die Bücher Samuel. Dritte Auflage [*Kurzgefasstes exeget. Handbuch*]. Leipzig: Hirzel, 1898. Pp. xcv+215. M. 6.

Klostermann, A. Die Bücher Samuelis und der Könige [*Kurzgefasster Kommentar*]. Nördlingen: C. H. Beck, 1887. 2 parts. Pp. lii+503. M. 10.

Skinner, John. Kings [*New-Century Bible*]. New York: Frowde, no date. Pp. 459, and Map. $0.90.

Burney, C. F. Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Kings. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1903. Pp. xlviii+384. $3.25.

Kittel, R. Die Bücher der Könige [*Handkommentar z. A. T.*]. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1900. Pp. xvi+312. M. 6.40.

Benzinger, I. Die Bücher der Könige [*Kurzer Hand-Commentar z. A. T.*]. Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr, 1899. Pp. xxiii+216. M. 5.

Holzhey, C. Das Buch der Könige. Untersuchung seiner Bestandtheile u. s. w. München: Leutner, 1899. Pp. 63. M. 1.40.

Barnes, W. E. The Books of Chronicles with Maps, Notes, and Introduction [*The Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges*]. New York: Macmillan, 1899. Pp. 339. $1.

Harvey-Jellie, W. R. The Books of Chronicles. Introduction, Revised Version, Notes, Index, and Map [*The New-Century Bible*]. New York: Frowde. 1906: Pp. 336. $0.90.

Bennett, W. H. The Books of Chronicles [*Expositor's Bible*]. New York: A. C. Armstrong, 1894. Pp. 470. $1.50.

Barnes, W. E. An Apparatus Criticus to Chronicles in the Peshitta Version. Cambridge: The University Press, 1897. Pp. 97. 5*s*.

Kittel, R. Die Bücher der Chronik übersetzt und erklärt [*Handkommentar z. A. T.*]. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1902. Pp. 196. M. 4.

Benzinger, I. Die Bücher der Chronik [*Kurzer Hand-Commentar z. A. T.*]. Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr, 1901. Pp. 159. M. 3.

Ryle, H. E. Ezra and Nehemiah [*The Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges*]. Cambridge: The University Press, 1893. Pp. 4*s*. 6*d*.

Siegfried, C. Ezra, Nehemiah und Esther übersetzt und erklärt [*Handkommentar zum Alten Testament*]. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1901. Pp. 175. M. 3.80.

Bertholet, A. Die Bücher Esra und Nehemia erklärt [*Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament*]. Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr, 1902. Pp. 132. M. 2.50.

Bertheau, E. Esra, Nehemia und Esther [*Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch zum Alten Testament*]. 2d ed. by Ryssel. Leipzig: Hirzel, 1887. Pp. 478. M. 8.

Oettli, S. und Meinhold, J. Die geschichtlichen Hagiographen und Daniel ausgelegt [*Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Kommentar zum Alten Testament*]. Nördlingen: C. H. Beck, 1889. Pp. 346. M. 5.50.

The standard book on Judges for all scholars is MOORE's; for keenness of analysis, scope of knowledge, accuracy of information, and interpretative grasp it is unsurpassed. THATCHER presents results of modern scholarship in a way intelligible to all students.

BUDDE's works on Judges and Samuel are of much importance, especially for their position concerning the analysis of the sources. NOWACK follows Budde's analysis closely, but has some independent value of its own as a commentary. SMITH's *Samuel* is independent in spirit, and free in its attitude toward the text; it is the best English commentary on these books. KENNEDY is an admirable handbook for the people. DRIVER's *Notes* are indispensable to the textual student of Samuel. LÖHR's commentary is weakened by a somewhat unscientific attitude toward the Massoretic text. KLOSTERMANN is valuable for his keen use of the Septuagint text; he offers many ingenious reconstructions of text and history, but must be used with caution. SKINNER's *Kings* is a splendid popular commentary, thoroughly scientific in spirit and method, yet clear and helpful. BURNEY's *Notes* do for Kings exactly what Driver does for Samuel. KITTEL and BENZINGER afford the only technical commentaries on Kings; both of them admirable in plan and execution with Kittel the more conservative in his attitude toward the sources.

HOLZHEY has some value as a piece of documentary analysis; but his results are controlled too much by theological presuppositions.

The student of the later historical books is well provided for. For popular use BARNES and HARVEY-JELLIE constitute excellent aids. BENNETT does good expository and homiletical work. BARNES'S *Apparatus* is available only to students of Syriac, but is of first-class importance. KITTEL'S *Chronicles* is scholarly and thorough, indispensable to advanced students. BENZINGER is concise, but sufficiently full to yield much valuable material for the interpretation of Chronicles. On Ezra and Nehemiah, Ryle presents the best treatment in English. More thorough work is done by SIEGFRIED and BERTHOLET. The most elaborate study of these books, together with Esther, is that by BERTHEAU-RYSSEL, characterized by immense learning, but lacking in historical spirit and method. OETTLI AND MEINHOLD are of the same general point of view as Ryssel, but less learned and detailed.

C. THE PSALTER

Ewald, H. Commentary on the Psalms. Two volumes. London: Williams & Norgate, 1880. Pp. vii+695. *21s.*

Delitzsch, Franz. Biblical Commentary on the Psalms. Three volumes. 2d ed. T. & T. Clark, 1892. Pp. viii+1268. *31s. 6d.*

Briggs, C. A. The Psalms [*International Critical Commentary*]. Two volumes. New York: Scribners, 1906, 1907. Pp. cxviii+994. $6.

Cheyne, T. K. The Book of Psalms, or the Praises of Israel. A New Translation, with Commentary. New York: Thomas Whitaker, 1892. Pp. xvii +413. *16s.*

Perowne, J. J. S. The Book of Psalms. Two volumes. Eighth ed. London: Bell, 1892–93. Pp. xxxix+1118.

Cobb, W. F. The Book of Psalms, with Introduction and Notes. London: Methuen & Co., 1905. Pp. xvii+420. *10s. 6d.*

Kirkpatrick, A. F. The Psalms [*Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges*]. Cambridge: The University Press, 1891–1901. Pp. lxxx+847. *7s.*

Davison, W. T. Psalms. With Introduction, Revised Version, Notes, and Index. Pss. 1–72 [*New-Century Bible*]. New York: Frowde, 1904. Pp. 365. $0.90.

Davies, T. W. Psalms. With Introduction, Revised Version, Notes, and Index. Pss. 73–150 [*New-Century Bible*]. New York: Frowde, 1906. Pp. 380. $0.90.

Sharpe, John. The Student's Handbook to the Psalms. London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1894. Pp. xx+440. *12s.*

Maclaren, A. The Book of the Psalms [*Expositor's Bible*]. Three volumes. New York: Armstrong, 1893. Pp. viii+385; vii+503; vii+461. $1.50 per volume.

Baethgen, Fried. Die Psalmen. Dritte neubearbeitete Auflage [*Handkommentar zum Alten Testament*]. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1904. Pp. l+438. M. 8.

Duhm, B. Die Psalmen [*Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament*]. Leipzig: Mohr, 1899. Pp. x+312. M. 6.

Hupfeld, H. Die Psalmen übersetzt und ausgelegt. Für die dritte Auflage

bearbeitet von W. Nowack. Two volumes. Gotha: Perthes, 1888. Pp. lxxiv+1420. M. 26.

Keszler, H. Die Psalmen, für die zweite Auflage übersetzt und ausgelegt [*Kurzgefasster Kommentar*]. München: C. H. Beck, 1899. Pp. xx+104. M. 2.40.

Ehrlich, Arnold B. Die Psalmen, neu uebersetzt und erklaert. Berlin: Poppelauer, 1905. Pp. vi+438.

Valeton, J. J. P. De Psalmen. Three parts. Nijmegen: H. Ten Hoet, 1902. Pp. 1091. Fl. 6.

EWALD and DELITZSCH are the two old masters in Psalm interpretation, and may not yet be ignored. Ewald goes further in criticism and in poetic appreciation than many more recent interpreters. The most learned English commentary on the Psalter today is by BRIGGS; in this much emphasis is laid upon poetic form and upon grammatical minutiae. The critical point of view is advanced, but the results are more conservative than those of other leading commentators. CHEYNE gives an excellent translation with notes few and brief, but of good quality. PEROWNE was the standard commentary among English-speaking peoples twenty years ago; its learning is reliable, but it has fallen behind in the march of historical interpretation. COBB is radical in his criticism, thoroughly independent in view-point, and worthy of cautious study. KIRKPATRICK is the best popular guide to the interpretation of the Psalms; his critical attitude is cautious and reverent. DAVISON'S and DAVIES' commentaries are popular in aim and tone, and more liberal in critical matters than Kirkpatrick. SHARPE is traditional in method and aim, but offers much information to the inquiring student. MACLAREN is wholly homiletical and traditional.

Among German works, BAETHGEN is the leading exponent of moderate criticism of the Psalter; his standpoint is that represented by Kirkpatrick. DUHM represents the radical wing of the critical school. HUPFELD-NOWACK is a bulky commentary, but of uneven quality, doing neither Hupfeld nor Nowack justice. KESZLER furnishes a good, cautious exposition for a more timid type of student than that appealed to by Baethgen. EHRLICH writes as a Jew from a distinctively individualistic point of view, offering many new theories as to details of exegisis, but on principle opposed to the higher-critical method as premature in the present stage of psalm interpretation. VALETON gives the Dutch public a popular yet scientific treatment of the Psalter.

D. THE WISDOM LITERATURE

JOB

Davidson, A. B. The Book of Job, with Notes, Introduction, and Appendix [*The Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges*]. Cambridge: The University Press, 1884. Pp. 360. 5*s*.

Peake, A. S. Job: Introduction; Revised Version, with Notes and Index [*The New-Century Bible*]. New York: Frowde, 1905. Pp. 355. $0.90.

Driver, S. R. The Book of Job in the Revised Version. Edited with Introduction and Brief Annotations. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1906. Pp. xxxvi +133. $0.85.

Gibson, E. C. S. The Book of Job, with Introduction and Notes [*Oxford Commentaries*]. New York: Macmillan, 1899. Pp. 266. $1.25.

Marshall, J. T. The Book of Job [*An American Commentary on the Old Testament*]. Philadelphia: The American Baptist Publication Society, 1904. Pp. 153. $0.75 net.

Ewald, H. Commentary on the Book of Job, with Translation. London: Williams & Norgate, 1882. Pp. 355. 10*s*. 6*d*.

Delitzsch, Franz. Biblical Commentary on the Book of Job. Translated from

the German by Rev. Francis Bolton. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1866. Two volumes. Pp. 915. *21s.*

Genung, J. F. The Epic of the Inner Life, being the Book of Job translated anew and accompanied with Notes and an Introductory Study. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1891. Pp. 363. $1.25.

Watson, R. A. The Book of Job [*Expositor's Bible*]. New York: A. C. Armstrong, 1892. Pp. 422. $1.50.

Bradley, G. G. Lectures on the Book of Job. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1887. Pp. 366. *7s. 6d.*

Duhm, B. Das Buch Hiob erklärt [*Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament*]. Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr, 1897. Pp. 227. M. 4.80.

Budde, K. Das Buch Hiob übersetzt und erklärt [*Handkommentar zum Alten Testament*]. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1896. Pp. 310. M. 6.

Dillmann, A. Hiob erklärt. Leipzig: Hirzel, 1891. 4th ed. Pp. 401. M. 6.

Delitzsch, Friedrich. Das Buch Hiob neu übersetzt und kurz erklärt. Ausgabe mit sprachlichem Kommentar. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1902. Pp. 179. M. 6.

Bickell, G. Das Buch Hiob. Wien: C. Gerold's Sohn, 1894. Pp. 69. M. 2.

Hoffmann, G. Hiob. Kiel: C. F. Haeseler, 1891. Pp. 106. M. 2.

Ley, J. Das Buch Hiob nach seinem Inhalt, seiner Kunstgestaltung und religiosen Bedeutung. Für gebildete Leser dargestellt. Mit einem Vorwort von Dr. E. Kautzsch. Halle a. S.: Verlag der Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses, 1903. Pp. 153. M. 2.

Kautzsch, Karl. Das sogenannte Volksbuch von Hiob und der Ursprung von Hiob Cap. I, II, XLII:7–17. Ein Beitrag zur Frage nach der Integrität des Buches Hiob. Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr, 1900. Pp. 88. M. 2.40.

Grill, J. Zur Kritik der Composition des Buches Hiob. Tübingen: Universitäts Programm, 1890. M. 2.40.

Beer, G. Der Text des Buches Hiob untersucht. Marburg: N. G. Elwert, 1897. Pp. 272. M. 5.60.

PROVERBS

Toy, C. H., A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Proverbs [*The International Critical Commentary*]. New York: Scribners, 1899. Pp. 590. $3.

Berry G. R. The Book of Proverbs [*An American Commentary on the Old Testament*]. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1904. Pp. 114. $0.75.

Horton, R. F. The Book of Proverbs [*The Expositor's Bible*]. New York: A. C. Armstrong, 1891. Pp. 428. $1.50.

Frankenberg, W. Die Sprüche übersetzt und erklärt [*Handkommentar zum Alten Testament*]. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1898. Pp. 169. M. 3.40.

Wildeboer, G. Die Sprüche erklärt [*Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament*]. Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr, 1897. Pp. 119. M. 2.50.

Strack, H. L. Die Sprüche Salomos übersetzt und ausgelegt [*Kurzgefasster Kommentar zu den heiligen Schriften Alten und Neuen Testamentes*]. 2d ed. Munich: C. H. Beck, 1899. Pp. 112. M. 4.

Nowack, W. Die Sprüche Salomos und der Prediger Salomo [*Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch zum Alten Testament*]. 2d ed. Leipzig: Hirzel, 1883. Pp. 360. M. 6.

Gasser, J. K. Die Bedeutung der Sprüche Jesu ben Sira für die Datierung des althebräischen Spruchbuchs. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1904. Pp. 170. M. 4.80.

ECCLESIASTES

McNeile, A. H. An Introduction to Ecclesiastes, with Notes and Appendices. Cambridge: The University Press, 1904. Pp. 176. 7*s.* 6*d.*

Plumptre, E. H. Ecclesiastes, or The Preacher. With Notes and Introduction [*The Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges*]. Cambridge: The University Press, 1881. Pp. 271. 5*s.*

Tyler, T. Ecclesiastes. An Introduction to the Book; an Exegetical Analysis; and a Translation, with Notes. 2d ed. London: David Nutt, 1899. Pp. xi+168. 6*s.*

Cox, S. The Book of Ecclesiastes [*The Expositor's Bible*]. New York: A. C. Armstrong, 1890. Pp. 351. $1.50.

Wright, C. H. H. The Book of Koheleth Considered in Relation to Modern Criticism, and to the Doctrines of Modern Pessimism, with a Critical and Grammatical Commentary, and a Revised Translation. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1883. Pp. 542. 12*s.*

Genung, J. F. Ecclesiastes. Words of Koheleth, Son of David, King in Jerusalem. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1904. Pp. 374. $1.25.

Bradley, G. G. Lectures on Ecclesiastes. London: Frowde, 1885. Pp. viii+133. 4*s.* 6*d.*

Haupt, Paul. The Book of Ecclesiastes. A New Metrical Translation, with an Introduction and Explanatory Notes. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1905. Pp. 47. $0.50.

Siegfried, C. Prediger und Hoheslied übersetzt und erklärt [*Handkommentar zum Alten Testament*]. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1898. Pp. 126. M. 2.60.

Wildeboer, G. Der Prediger erklärt [*Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament*, Abteilung XVII, Die fünf Megillot, pp. 109–68]. Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr, 1898.

Bickell, G. Der Prediger über den Wert des Daseins, Wiederherstellung des bisher zerstückelten Textes; Uebersetzung und Erklärung. Innsbruck: Wagner, 1884. Pp. 112. M. 1.20.

Renan, E. L'Ecclésiaste, traduit de l'hébreu avec une étude sur l'âge et le caractère du livre. 2d ed. Paris: C. Lévy, 1882. Pp. 153. Fr. 5.

THE SONG OF SONGS

Harper, A. The Song of Solomon, with Introduction and Notes [*The Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges*]. New York: Macmillan, 1902. Pp. 147. $0.50.

Adeney, Walter F. The Song of Solomon and the Lamentations of Jeremiah [*The Expositor's Bible*]. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son, 1895. Pp. 554. $1.50.

Ewald, H. Das Hohelied [in *Die Dichter des Alten Bundes*, Vol. II, 2d ed., 1867. Pp. 333–426].

Delitzsch, Franz. Commentary on the Song of Songs. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1893. Pp. 176.

Griffis, W. E. The Lily among Thorns. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1890. Pp. 276. $1.25.

Merrill, George E. The Song of Songs [*An American Commentary on the Old Testament*]. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1905. Pp. 38. $0.75.

Budde, K., Bertholet A., Wildeboer G. Die Funf Megillot (Das Hohelied, Das Buch Ruth, Die Klagelieder, Der Prediger, Das Buch Esther) [*Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament*]. Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr, 1898. Pp. 226. M. 4.

Haupt, Paul. The Book of Canticles. A New Rhythmical Translation, with Restoration of the Hebrew Text and Explanatory and Critical Notes. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1902. Pp. 86.

Volck, W., and Oettli, S. Die poetischen Hagiographen [*Kurzgefasster exegetischer Kommentar zum Alten Testament*]. Nördlingen: C. H. Beck, 1889. Pp. 233. M. 4.50.

The student of Job is well provided for by the commentators; there is something for almost every grade of intelligence and from every point of view. DAVIDSON has long been the standard popular commentary, on account of its fine combination of the results of accurate scholarship with a profound spiritual appreciation and sympathy. PEAKE now supplements Davidson in that it records the advance of scholarship during the past twenty years. Every student should have both of these admirable commentaries; but if only one is within reach, let it be Peake. DRIVER has prepared an easy guide to the reading of Job; the text is carefully and clearly analyzed, and a minimum of explanatory notes added. GIBSON and MARSHALL are slightly more technical than Davidson and Peake, but their scholarship is decidedly inferior. EWALD and DELITZSCH are the best representatives of the exegesis of a generation ago, and are still valuable, though most of their important gains are incorporated in more recent commentaries. GENUNG is suggestive and original in his point of view as to the literary character of Job, but too subjective and imaginative. WATSON does a mediocre piece of expository preaching. BRADLEY'S lectures are popular and homiletical, and not burdened with scholarship.

Among German writers on Job, DUHM and BUDDE represent the best modern work; Duhm is the more radical in his textual and literary criticism, partly because of the effort he makes to confine the original Job to one set poetic form. DILLMANN is indispensable to thorough work on Job; it is characterized like all of Dillmann's work, by great learning and exegetical skill. FRIEDRICH DELITZSCH' commentary is valuable only for the new light thrown by it on many difficult and rare words. BICKELL contains a

new treatment of the poetical form of Job, and though subjective in method it merits careful consideration. HOFFMANN's is a short popular treatment, consisting of translation with brief annotations. LEY aimed at the popular mind, but is of value also for its study of the poetical form of Job. KAUTZSCH presents a criticism of the theory that Job was based upon an old, current tradition now contained substantially in the prologue and epilogue. GRILL too discusses the origin and composition of Job; while BEER has made a critical study of the text resulting in many emendations, several of which are worthy of adoption.

Proverbs has received its best interpretation from the hands of TOY; this is an eminently sane and scholarly commentary. BERRY is less technical in its comments and more conservative in its results than Toy, but not well adapted to popular use. HORTON is wholly homiletical. FRANKENBERG and WILDEBOER are first-class works, with little to choose between them. STRACK is more conservative in his conclusions, but equally scholarly. NOWACK's is good safe interpretation, from about the same general point of view as Strack. GASSER offers an interesting comparison between Proverbs and Ecclesiasticus with a view to the significance of the latter in determining the date of the former.

On Ecclesiastes, MCNEILE has done a good piece of work; his new translation is accurate, his analysis sane, his notes illuminating, and his introduction informing. PLUMPTRE is popular and interesting, but his theory of the origin of Ecclesiastes is imaginative. TYLER is the great representative of the view that Greek philosophy is present in Ecclesiastes in its Stoic and Epicurean forms. COX is rather a weak exposition. WRIGHT is learned, but not fully awake to the difficulties of reconciling the conflicting theories in Ecclesiastes. GENUNG is popular and suggestive, but needs more thorough scholarship. BRADLEY'S lectures assume the unity of the book, and are popular and practical in aim. HAUPT carries the division hypothesis to the last extreme, but gives much valuable information. SIEGFRIED analyzes Ecclesiastes too minutely, but has had great influence upon all subsequent commentaries. WILDEBOER holds to the essential unity of the book, and contributes much to its understanding. BICKELL presents a very artificial theory in defense of unity, but makes some good textual suggestions. RENAN was an enthusiastic admirer of Ecclesiastes, and furnishes a sympathetic and intelligent appreciation of the pessimistic element in the book.

On the Song of Songs, HARPER is the best popular treatment; as an exposition of the dramatic theory it may be highly recommended. ADENEY is primarily homiletical, and only mediocre in value. DELITZSCH is valuable as the exponent of a special form of the dramatic theory; while EWALD is of first-class importance as the founder of the dramatic hypothesis. GRIFFIS and MERRILL are popular expositions of no special value. BUDDE is the great representative of the lyrical theory of Canticles which has won so many adherents. HAUPT adopting the lyrical view attempts to recover the original songs; his criticism is arbitrary and subjective, but his learning is vast and comprehensive, and enriches the history of interpretation. VOLCK and OETTLI offer condensed and cautious interpretations of the poetical books which show slight response to the influence of the modern historical movement in interpretation.

E. THE MAJOR PROPHETS

ISAIAH

Smith, Geo. Adam. The Book of Isaiah. Two volumes. New York: Armstrong. Vol. I, chaps. i–xxxix, 1899; pp. xvi+456; Vol. II, chaps. xl–lxvi; 1899; pp. xvii+474. $1.50 a volume.

Skinner, John. Isaiah [*Cambridge Bible*]. Two volumes bound in one. Cambridge: The University Press. Pp. lxxix+295; lxi+251. 8*s*.

Whitehouse, O. C. Isaiah [*New-Century Bible*]. New York: Frowde, 1905. Vol. I, chaps. i–xxxix. Pp. 381, and Map. $0.90.

Mitchell, H. G. Isaiah. A Study of Chapters I–XII. New York: T. Y. Crowell & Co., 1897. Pp. 263. $2..

Cheyne, T. K. The Prophecies of Isaiah. Two volumes. New York: Whittaker, 1886. Pp. xiv+310; xiii+317. $3.

König, E. The Exiles' Book of Consolation contained in Isaiah XL–LXVI. A Critical and Exegetical Study. New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1899. Pp. vi+218. $1.50.

Orelli, C. von. The Prophecies of Isaiah. New York: Scribner's, 1889. Pp. xi + 350. $3.

Delitzsch, Franz. Biblical Commentary on the Prophecies of Isaiah. Translated from the 4th ed. (1889), with an Introduction by Professor S. R. Driver. Two volumes. New York: Scribner's, 1892. Pp. xv + 931. $6.

Ewald, H. Commentary on the Prophets of the Old Testament. Five volumes. (Translated from 2d German ed. 1867 ff.). London: Williams & Norgate, 1875–81. Pp. viii + 1686. 10*s.* 6*d.* per volume.

Marti, Karl. Das Buch Jesaia [*Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament*]. Leipzig: Mohr, 1900. Pp. xxvi + 428. M. 7.

Duhm, B. Das Buch Jesaia [*Handkommentar zum Alten Testament*]. Zweite Auflage. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1902. Pp. xxii + 446. M. 8.20.

Dillmann, A. Der Prophet Jesaja erklärt. Für die sechste Auflage herausgegeben und vielfach umgearbeitet von Dr. R. Kittel [*Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch zum Alten Testament*]. Leipzig: Hirzel, 1898. Pp. xxx + 534. M. 9.

Klostermann, A. Deuterojesaja, Hebräisch und Deutsch, mit Anmerkungen. Munich: Beck, 1893. Pp. vii + 128. M. 2.40.

JEREMIAH

Ball, C. J. The Prophecies of Jeremiah. With a Sketch of His Life and Times [*The Expositor's Bible*]. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son, 1890. Pp. vi + 424. $1.50.

Bennett, W. H. The Book of Jeremiah, Chapters XXI–LII [*The Expositor's Bible*]. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son, 1895. Pp. xx + 372. $1.50.

Cheyne, T. K. Jeremiah [*The Pulpit Commentary*]. Two volumes. New York: A. D. F. Randolph & Co. No date. Pp. xxvii + 920. In the same volumes: Cheyne: Lamentations. Pp. xiii + 91.

Orelli, C. von. The Prophecies of Jeremiah. New York: Scribner's, 1889. Pp. viii + 384. $3.

Der Prophet Jeremia. 3d ed. Munich: C. H. Beck, 1905. Pp. viii + 215. M. 3.50.

Workman, G. C. The Text of Jeremiah. New York: Scribner's, 1889. Pp. xliv + 398. $3.60.

Duhm, B. Das Buch Jeremia [*Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament*]. Leipzig: Mohr, 1901. Pp. xxiii + 391. M. 6.80.

Giesebrecht, F. Das Buch Jeremia (In the same volume: Max Löhr: Die Klagelieder des Jeremia) [*Handkommentar zum Alten Testament*]. 2d ed. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1907. Pp. lviii + 291. M. 8.

Cornill, C. H. Das Buch Jeremia erklärt. Leipzig: Tauchnitz, 1905. Pp. lii + 536. M. 10.

EZEKIEL

Davidson, A. B. Ezekiel [*Cambridge Bible*]. Cambridge: University Press, 1893. Pp. lv+368. $1.25.

Skinner, John. The Book of Ezekiel [*The Expositor's Bible*]. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son, 1895. Pp. xi+499. $1.50.

Bertholet, Alf. Das Buch Hesekiel [*Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament*]. Leipzig: Mohr, 1897. Pp. xxvi+259. M. 6.

Kraetzschmar, R. Das Buch Ezechiel [*Handkommentar zum Alten Testament*]. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1900. Pp. xv+302 +Plan. M. 3.60.

Smend, R. Der Prophet Ezekiel. [*Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch zum Alten Testament*]. Leipzig: Hirzel, 1880. Pp. xxx+397.

Cornill, C. H. Der Prophet Ezechiel. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1882.

Cornill, C. H. Das Buch des Propheten Ezechiel. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1886. Pp. xii+515. M. 15.

Orelli, C. von. Das Buch Ezechiel [Strack-Zöckler's *Kurzgefasster Kommentar zum Alten Testament*]. 2d ed. Munich: C. H. Beck, 1896. Pp. vi+200. M. 3.50.

Jahn, G. Das Buch Ezechiel auf Grund der Septuaginta hergestellt, übersetzt und kritisch erklärt. Leipzig: Ed. Pfeiffer, 1905. Pp. xx+362. M. 16.

Müller, D. H. Ezechiel-Studien. Berlin: Reuther und Reichard, 1895. Pp. 65. M. 3.

Gautier, L. La mission du prophète Ezékiel. Lausanne: Bridel, 1891. Pp. 376. Fr. 3.50.

DANIEL

Driver, S. R. The Book of Daniel with Introduction and Notes. [*The Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges*]. Cambridge: The University Press, 1900. Pp. cvi+215. 2*s*. 6*d*.

Bevan, A. A. A Short Commentary on the Book of Daniel. Cambridge: The University Press, 1892. Pp. xiii+235. 8*s*.

Prince, J. D. A Critical Commentary on The Book of Daniel. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1899. Pp. viii+270. Cloth, M. 9.

Farrar, F. W. The Book of Daniel [*The Expositor's Bible*]. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son, 1895. Pp. xii+334. $1.50.

Wright, C. H. H. Daniel and his Critics. Being a Critical and Grammatical Commentary. London: Williams & Norgate, 1906. Pp. xxxviii+284. 7*s*. 6*d*.

Marti, K. Das Buch Daniel [*Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament*]. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1901. Pp. xxiii+98. M. 3.35.

Behrmann, Georg. Das Buch Daniel [*Handkommentar zum Alten Testament*]. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1894. Pp. li+84. M. 2.80.

Meinhold, J. Daniel ausgelegt [Strack-Zöckler's *Kurzgefasster Kommentar zum Alten Testament*]. In same volume with: *Die geschichtlichen Hagiographen* by S. Oettli. Munich: C. H. Beck, 1889. Pp. vii+339. M. 5.50.

Jahn, G. Das Buch Daniel nach der Septuaginta hergestellt übersetzt und kritisch erklärt. Mit einem Anhang: Die Mesha-Inschrift auf's neue untersucht. Leipzig: Ed. Pfeiffer, 1904. Pp. xxii+137. M. 5.

On Isaiah, G. ADAM SMITH has prepared perhaps the best commentary for English readers. It is thoroughly modern in its point of view, sound in scholarship, and reverent in spirit. It demonstrates what ideal expository preaching is. SKINNER's commentary is of first-class quality, and admirably adapted to the needs of students willing to dispense with homiletical exposition. It is fully abreast of the results of recent investigation. WHITEHOUSE too can be highly recommended as the right sort of popular commentary, one which does not achieve popularity at the expense of scholarship. MITCHELL is well adapted for use as an introduction to the more difficult problems of the books of Isaiah. CHEYNE's translation and brief notes are of splendid quality, though his criticism is now somewhat antiquated, especially in his own eyes. KÖNIG's treatment of Isa. 40–66 is of an exegetical character, but is spoiled by its polemical spirit. ORELLI represents well the attitude of the critics who were somewhat conservative twenty years ago. DELITZSCH's "New Commentary" is an indispensable book to the student of the history of interpretation, and is well fitted to serve as a starting-point in the study of Isaiah. EWALD's great pioneering work on the whole range of the prophetical books is still useful and suggestive at many points. MARTI is at the head of German commentaries on Isaiah; his criticism is fearless, even if too often subjective and formal. DUHM has exercised great influence upon the last decade's treatment of Isaiah; the advanced student must use it. Kittel's edition of DILLMANN is perhaps the most learned and cautious of recent commentaries. KLOSTERMANN contributes a new translation of Isa. 40–66, based upon an improved text in which he has incorporated 350 emendations, almost half of them being new. Many of them compel assent and, with the notes, make this an important work.

Jeremiah has been much neglected by English scholars. There is no first-class work of either popular or technical character in English. BALL and BENNETT are perhaps the best, but though in the same series they are of very unequal merit; Bennett is the better of the two. CHEYNE's work on Jeremiah in the *Pulpit Commentary* was among his earliest contributions to Biblical science and is buried under a mass of homilizing material by other writers in the same volumes, but it reflects a scholarly spirit, and is good as far as it goes. ORELLI is safe and cautious, but is now somewhat old and was behind the main body of critical scholarship when first written. WORKMAN offers a careful and keen study of the Septuagint variations from the Massoretic text and seems to have demonstrated that the Greek translation rests upon a different recension of the Hebrew text than the Massoretic. DUHM's study of Jeremiah is brilliant and creative, but open to the criticism that he places too strait limits upon the poetical spirit and power of the prophet. GIESEBRECHT is more conservative in his conclusions than Duhm, and more commonplace in his exegesis. CORNILL is the latest and perhaps the best commentator on Jeremiah. His critical position and conclusions are intermediate between Duhm and Giesebrecht.

For Ezekiel there are two admirable aids to the English reader. DAVIDSON is at his best here and gives the results of all the best work up to his time in readable form. SKINNER is an equally good piece of work, but necessarily more homiletical in style, as the *Expositor's Bible* demands.

The two leading German works are by BERTHOLET and KRAETZSCHMAR; the former's strength is on the side of literary analysis and sympathetic comprehension of religious development; the latter excels in linguistic control and in grasp of the historical situation. SMEND is of outstanding importance as the first interpreter to grasp the significance of Ezekiel as the "father of Judaism." CORNILL's essay on the prophet is stimulating and suggestive, but too partial to Ezekiel's merits; his study of the book is a masterly reconstruction of the text upon the basis of the Septuagint. ORELLI opposes Smend and most modern interpreters in making Ezekiel the successor of the Priest-Code rather than its forerunner. JAHN offers a reconstructed text and new translation, with brief notes; its value is diminished by his theological presuppositions. MÜLLER's book discusses some problems raised by the book of Ezekiel, and presents considerable material of value. GAUTIER furnishes French readers with an attractive presentation of the career of Ezekiel, somewhat weakened by a failure to grasp clearly the essential nature of prophecy.

Daniel has attracted an almost countless array of interpreters and champions. Only those really deserving consideration are here mentioned. DRIVER is by all odds the best popular interpreteter; he is thoroughly conversant with all the data and presents the necessary facts clearly and succinctly. BEVAN is somewhat more technical and forms a fine introduction to the linguistic study of the book. PRINCE is especially valuable for its fine array of Assyro-Babylonian data. FARRAR utilizes scientific results for

homiletical ends. WRIGHT makes a serious attempt to demonstrate the Babylonian origin of the book, but can hardly be said to succeed. He is well read in the literature of the subject and has gathered much valuable information into his book. MARTI's is the best scientific treatment of the text of Daniel. BEHRMANN is philologically weaker than Marti, but supplements the latter at many points. MEINHOLD attempts to defend the Babylonian origin of the Apocalypse by positing a series of later additions; aside from this unsuccessful effort the commentary is of considerable value. JAHN criticizes and reconstructs the Massoretic text upon the basis of the Septuagint, but his methods and results do not commend themselves highly to careful scholars

F. THE MINOR PROPHETS

COMMENTARIES ON THE BOOK OF THE TWELVE PROPHETS

Smith, George Adam. The Book of the Twelve Prophets, Commonly Called the Minor. With Historical and Critical Introductions Two volumes. New York: A. C. Armstrong, 1896–98. Pp. 1018. $3.

Horton, R. F. The Minor Prophets: Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Jonah, Micah: Introductions, Revised Version, with Notes, Index and Map [*The Century Bible*]. New York: Frowde, 1904. $0.90.

Driver, S. R. The Minor Prophets: Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi: Introductions, Revised Version, with Notes, Index, and Map [*The Century Bible*]. New York: Frowde, 1906. Pp. xvi+337. $0.90.

Orelli, C. von. The Twelve Minor Prophets. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1893. Pp. 412. 10*s.* 6*d.*

Henderson, E. The Book of the Twelve Prophets Translated from the Original Hebrew with a Commentary critical, philogical, and exegetical. Andover: W. F. Draper, 1868. Pp. 488. (Out of print.)

Wellhausen, J. Die kleinen Propheten übersetzt und erklärt. 3d ed. Berlin: G. Reimer, 1898. Pp. 222. M. 7.

Nowack, W. Die kleinen Propheten [*Handkommentar zum Alten Testament*]. 2d ed. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1903. Pp. 446. M. 8.

Marti, K. Dodekapropheton erklärt [*Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament*]. Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr, 1904. Pp. 492. M. 8.

Hitzig, F. Die zwölf kleinen Propheten erklärt. Vierte Auflage besorgt von H. Steiner [*Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch zum Alten Testament*]. Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1881. Pp. 441. M. 7.50.

HOSEA, JOEL, AMOS

Harper, W. R. A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Amos and Hosea [*The International Critical Commentary*]. New York: Scribner's, 1905. Pp. clxxxi+424. $3.

Cheyne, T. K. Hosea, with Notes and Introduction [*The Cambridge Bible*]. Cambridge: The University Press, 1884. Pp. 132. 3*s.*

Valeton, J. J. P. Amos und Hosea. Translated from the Dutch by K. Echternacht. Giessen: J. Ricker, 1898. Pp. 285. M. 3.60.

Simson, A. Der Prophet Hosea erklärt und übersetzt. Hamburg: 1851.

Wünsche, A. Der Prophet Hosea übersetzt und erklärt mit Benutzung der Targumim und der jüdischen Ausleger Raschi Aben Ezra, und David Kimchi. Leipzig: T. O. Weigel, 1868. Pp. 647. (Out of print.)

Seesemann, O. Israel und Juda bei Amos und Hosea, nebst einem Exkurs über Hos. 1–3. Leipzig: Dieterich, 1898. Pp. 48. M. 1.20.

Driver, S. R. The Books of Joel and Amos, with Introduction and Notes [*The Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges*]. Cambridge: The University Press, 1897. Pp. 244. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Mitchell, H. G. Amos, an Essay in Exegesis. 2d ed. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1900. Pp. 215. $1.50.

Löhr, Max. Untersuchungen zum Buch Amos [Beihefte zur *Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, No. IV]. Giessen: J. C. Ricker, 1901. Pp. 72. M. 2.50.

Baumann, E. Der Aufbau der Amosreden [Beihefte zur *Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, No. VII]. Giessen: J. Ricker, 1903. Pp. 79. M. 2.40.

Sievers, Ed., und Guthe, H. Amos metrisch bearbeitet [Des XXII. Bandes der Abhandlungen der philologisch-historischen Klasse der Königlichen sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, No. III]. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1907. Pp. 91. M. 5.

Elhorst, H. J. De Prophetie van Amos. Leiden: Brill, 1900. Pp. 179. Fl. 2.40.

Baur, G. Der Prophet Amos erklärt. Giessen: J. Ricker, 1847. Pp. 462. (Out of print.)

OBADIAH AND JONAH

Perowne, T. T. Obadiah and Jonah with Notes and Introduction [*The Cambridge Bible*]. Cambridge: The University Press, 1883. Pp. 96. 2*s.* 6*d.*

Peters, Norbert. Die Prophetie Obadjah's untersucht und erklärt. Paderborn: F. Schöningh, 1892. Pp. 147. M. 4.

Bachmann, J. Der Prophet Obadja. Halle: Niemeyer, 1892. Pp. 52. M. 2.

Schmitt, Hans. Jona. Eine Untersuchung zur vergleichenden Religionsgeschichte. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1907. Pp. vii + 194. M. 6.

MICAH, NAHUM, HABAKKUK, Zephaniah

Cheyne, T. K. Micah [*The Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges*]. Cambridge: The University Press, 1882. Pp. 64. 1*s.* 6*d.*

Elhorst, H. J. De Profetie van Micha. Arnhem: K. van der Zande, 1891. Pp. 183. Fl. 2.25.

Davidson, A. B. Nahum, Habakkuk and Zephaniah [*The Cambridge Bible*]. Cambridge: The University Press, 1896. Pp. 144. 3*s.*

Happel, Otto. Das Buch des Propheten Nahum: Würzburg: Göbel und Scherer, 1902. Pp. vii+106. M. 3.

Happel, Otto. Das Buch des Propheten Habackuk. Würzburg: Andreas Göbel, 1900. Pp. vii+71. M. 2.

Duhm, B. Das Buch Habakuk. Text, Übersetzung und Erklärung. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1906. Pp. 101. M. 3.80.

Delitzsch, Franz. Der Prophet Habakkuk ausgelegt. Leipzig: Karl Tauchnitz, 1843. Pp. 238.

HAGGAI, ZECHARIAH, MALACHI

Perowne, T. T. Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi [*The Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges*]. Cambridge: The University Press, 1886. Pp. 199. 3*s*. 6*d*.

Wright, C. H. H. Zechariah and His Prophecies, Considered in Relation to Modern Criticism, with a Critical and Grammatical Commentary and New Translation [*The Bampton Lectures*, 1878]. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1879. Pp. lxxv+614.

Köhler, A. Die nachexilischen Propheten erklärt (including Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi). Leipzig: A. Deichert, 1860. M. 12.

André, J. Le prophète Aggée. Paris: Fischbacker, 1895. Pp. 367. Fr. 10.

Kuiper, A. K. Zacharja IX–XIV, eene exegetisch-critische Studie. Utrecht: Kemink & Zoon, 1894. Pp. 186. Fl. 1.

GEO. ADAM SMITH'S *Minor Prophets* ranks with his *Isaiah* among the finest pieces of interpretation in the language. His point of view is that of a moderate critic and his sympathetic appreciation and exposition of the prophet's message in relation to the prophet's environment is of the highest order. It is pre-eminently a book for preachers. The two volumes of the *Century Bible* are of very unequal value: HORTON is mediocre and commonplace without the saving salt of great scholarship or learning. DRIVER is here as elsewhere the cautious, safe exegete, willing to go slowly after the more daring and original scholars as long as they do not wander too far from the beaten track. ORELLI (the German original of which is now in its 2d edition [1896]; price M. 3.50) is brief and concise, and much more conservative in its conclusions than any of the foregoing. HENDERSON in its day was the leading English Commentary on the Minor Prophets, and still may be consulted with profit. WELLHAUSEN was the pioneer in careful, critical, and historical interpretation of these prophets; his textual emendations are of especial value. NOWACK leans heavily upon Wellhausen in his textual conclusions; but is valuable on his own account for his analytical and interpretative skill. MARTI is thoroughly independent in his thinking, and has opened up many new avenues of approach to difficult passages. HITZIG-STEINER contains much good textual work, but is otherwise of no pre-eminent value.

HARPER'S *Amos and Hosea* will long remain the standard authority on these prophets; it is characterized by thorough familiarity with the wide range of literature, by its great stress upon the artistic form of the prophecies, and by catholicity of spirit. The introductory sketch of the history of preprophetism is of much value. CHEYNE makes Hosea intelligible to the popular mind, and has some value as an original contribution to our knowledge of the prophet. VALETON is a good popular presentation from a rather conservative, though historical, standpoint. SIMSON and WÜNSCHE are the best survivals from the first half of the nineteenth century. Both contain much valuable material, and Wünsche is especially rich in citations from the Jewish interpreters. SEESEMANN'S study of the use of the terms Israel and Judah is of minor importance.

DRIVER'S commentary on Joel and Amos is a fine piece of popular work; every minister should have it. MITCHELL is intended for the student of Hebrew and is a good book through which to obtain orientation for the prophecy of Amos. LÖHR, BAUMANN, and SIEVERS-GUTHE are all primarily concerned with the strophic and poetic forms of the text. Baumann is most arbitrary and radical in his recon-

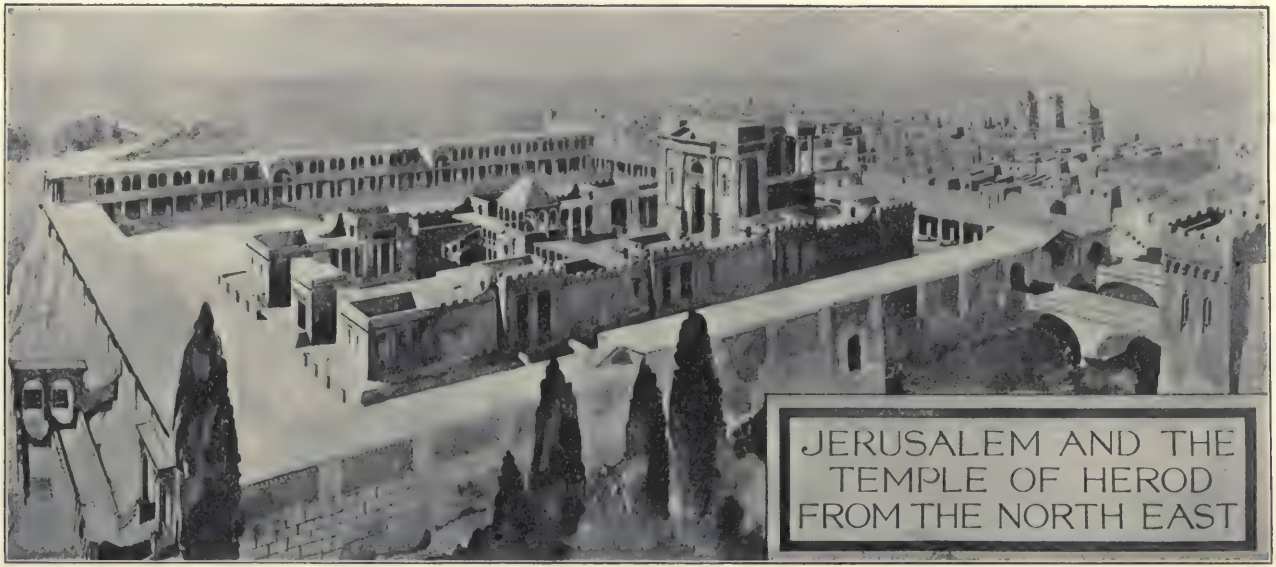
struction of the text; Löhr is much more restrained and trustworthy; Sievers and Guthe apply Sievers' poetical principles (see II, 3, under Sievers) to the text of Amos. ELHORST's Amos is likewise primarily poetical; but it rests upon an impossible theory regarding the transmission of the book. BAUR, though old, is of considerable value; his learning is sound, his method and judgment sane; and he has embodied much valuable information in his exegesis.

PEROWNE's *Obadiah and Jonah* is of little value, being almost totally deficient in the historical spirit. PETERS has done a fairly good piece of work from an orthodox Roman Catholic point of view. BACHMANN's book is a study of the Ethiopic version with reference to the recovery of its Greek original; it is a piece of excellent work. SCHMITT has gathered together fish and sea-dragon myths from the literature of all peoples and uses them as the basis of a comparative study of Jonah.

CHEYNE's *Micah* is a good piece of popular exegesis. ELHORST treats Micah in the same way as Amos (see above); his work is rather a matter of curious interest, than of scientific value. DAVIDSON can be highly recommended to all needing a simple, straightforward, but reliable exposition of the meaning of any part of these three prophecies. HAPPEL's *Nahum* is fresh and vigorous, but lacking in balance and sound learning; his *Habakkuk* presents a new theory as to the date of the prophet, viz., after the appearance of Alexander the Great; but the facts cited are not sufficient to prove the case. DUHM follows Happel in his view as to the date and the essential unity of the prophecy; he brings forward new arguments; and makes some clever emendations; but the case is still far from proven. DELITZSCH employs the same wisdom and care on Habakkuk that are always associated with his name.

PEROWNE's *Haggai* is of the same general character as his *Obadiah*, etc. (see above). WRIGHT uses learning and indefatigable industry to bolster up traditional opinions; his book is still valuable for its vast collection of data. KÖHLER has learning and scholarly care, but wrote before the school of historical interpretation had made itself felt. ANDRÉ represents scholarship and exegetical skill of an average degree. KUIPER is conservative in his point of view and method, but well worth using.

[*To be concluded in the November issue*]



From *Sacred Sites of the Gospels*, by Sanday and Waterhouse.

The colonnade on the upper edge of the picture represents the Royal Porch which bounded the great Court of the Gentiles on the south. Solomon's Porch, a colonnade of similar character, bounded this court on the east, and is shown at the left-hand side of the picture. The buildings in the center are the Court of the Women, the Court of the Gentiles, the Court of the Priests, and the Sanctuary proper, with their surrounding chambers. Cf. diagram on page 337

THE BIBLICAL WORLD

VOLUME XXX NOVEMBER, 1907 NUMBER 5

Editorial

THE FUTURE WORLD AND THE FUTURE OF THE WORLD

THE ESCHATOLOGY OF A MODERN THEOLOGIAN

In his recently published volume on *Biblical Dogmatics*, Professor Milton S. Terry, of the Garrett Biblical Institute, maintains that the second coming of Christ, the day of judgment, and the resurrection are all processes, not events; the two former at least being now, as they have been for centuries, in progress, and the last-named being a separate experience for each individual. The appearance of this teaching in a work on systematic theology, which as its title suggests is built pre-eminently, if not exclusively, on the Bible, is an interesting evidence of the influence of modern biblical study upon systematic theology. Professor Terry came to the chair of systematic theology from that of biblical theology, and to the chair of biblical theology from the Department of Exegesis. We may not all have followed his path or reached exactly his results in exegesis or in criticism, but thoroughgoing exegetical and historical study can hardly fail to bring one to his conclusions, so far as concerns the result for present-day Christian theology.

SURRENDERED ELEMENTS OF EARLY CHRISTIAN ESCHATOLOGY

In large circles of Christian thought, the old eschatology is gone, probably never to return. The apostle Paul looked for an appearance of Jesus in the clouds of heaven, and was not without hope in the early years of his missionary activity that this return might come within his own lifetime. The failure of his expectations to be realized in his day led naturally first to the simple postponement of that day, which Paul himself had said would so come as a thief in the night. It is a striking testimony to the persistent power of hope that down almost

to this very hour the Christian church has continued to look, as for an event that might come at any time, for such a return of Jesus on the clouds, and such an end of the world as the first age of the church thought to be even then near at hand. It has remained for the historical study of the nineteenth century to analyze the elements of that expectation, and to show how with the pure gold of faith in God and firm conviction that he would give victory to his people, there were—and under the circumstances must have been—mingled ingredients of a purely speculative and imaginative character, and that the latter form no integral part of the message of Christianity to men. For that message is not concerning times and seasons, not concerning elements melting with fervent heat, or a Christ descending in the clouds, speaking in audible trumpet tone to all who live upon the earth or sleep beneath it, but of a faith in a God who ever lives and loves and rules, and in a Christ who will more and more reign in the hearts of men and in the affairs of nations. It must be an ever-diminishing circle of Christians whose faith will find nourishment and inspiration in looking for the fulfilment in *their* day of the hopes which history has long since shown the early church to have mistakenly cherished. The most of the books that deal with the *Parousia* henceforth belong simply to the history of Christian thought, not to the literature of Christian faith.

THE FUTILITY OF MODERN SUBSTITUTES

Nor does it seem likely that there will arise to take the place of the old eschatology another of like order based either on the imagination of modern poets or on the results of psychic research. Is it only a generation since Bishop Bickersteth wrote *Yesterday, Today and Forever*, and Elizabeth Stuart Phelps published *Gates Ajar*, and a religious public read both with avidity? Yet today how completely forgotten. The Society of Psychic Research has done valuable service, but perhaps none more valuable than by all its volumes of reports to deepen the conviction that not only between the good and the evil in the unseen world, but also between that world and us there is a great gulf fixed, and that we must walk by faith and not by sight. Eye hath not seen and ear hath not heard, nor hath it entered into the heart of man to conceive what the life of the emancipated soul shall be.

THE HOPE OF IMMORTALITY

But if we surrender the eschatological programme in which the early church clothed those hopes and expectations which did so much to give vitality and effectiveness to early Christianity, have we then bounded our thought by the hour of death, and must the church henceforth find its inspiration and its arguments wholly in the life that now is? Far be it. Three score years and ten is a long time and from the life that now is there may be drawn mighty inspiration to noble living, and powerful sanction for the imperatives of a lofty morality. But life would be distinctly poorer and the motives to noble living distinctly weaker if it were necessary to bound the horizon of our thought and our appeal by the cradle and the grave. Moreover, the hope of a blessed immortality for the righteous is something quite distinct from any eschatological programme. To have learned that the eschatological expectations of the New Testament saints were largely colored by the enthusiasm of Jewish apocalyptists, or to become convinced that there is nothing to be learned concerning the future life from ostensible communications of supposed spirits concerning the most trivial affairs of our present life, is not to dissolve into thin air the hope of immortality. The continuance after death of a life enough like the present life to be comprehensible to one who is in the midst of this life is probably beyond the possibility of scientific demonstration. But faith has its reasons, too, and the confidence that God's love to man is such that for all who will consent that it shall be so, the best is yet to come—this, which is the essence of the hope of immortality, Christian faith will not surrender. From the present period of acute criticism and reduction to lowest terms the confidence that death does not end all will, we are persuaded, rise again to assert itself with new power.

THE FUTURE OF THE WORLD AS A MOTIVE TO RIGHTEOUS LIVING

But it is not enough to say that we have not lost that which is essential. There is in the change of which we are speaking a real gain, richly compensating for any loss that may be involved in the surrender of a definite programme of the future and of a vivid expectation of a personal reappearance of the Lord. In the ancient history of Israel, vagueness of thought concerning the future world was accompanied

by a concern for the future of the present world, and a merging of one's own interest in the interest of one's posterity that has not always been present in the times when religious thought has been largely occupied with the future world and the blessedness it was to bring to the individual. But such devotion to the welfare of the race is simply devotion to the good of men, and this in turn is simply acceptance as the end of one's own living of that which Christian faith affirms to be the will of God for man. And such identification of one's own good with the will of God gives an assurance that all will be well with one's self, and has power to comfort the soul in adversity and steady it for life's tasks equal to if not even greater than that which is furnished by any expectation, however vivid, of an apocalyptic return of the Lord near or far. In our own day the extreme individualism that for a time held sway is giving place again to a sense of the larger self and of the solidarity of the family and the nation and the race. This is a triumph of the principles that are at the very center of the religion of Jesus. It was precisely this that he taught men to do, to count not their own lives dear to them if only they might be as wheat cast into the ground to die and bring forth much fruit for humanity. It is an opportune moment to urge the appeal which the future of the community and the race makes to thoughtful men.

THE POSITIVE GAIN OF THE NEW EMPHASIS

After all is it not a gain, if, no longer looking with eagerness or with trembling for a day of the Lord when the elements shall melt with fervent heat and the earth and the works that are therein shall be burned up, we set our hope on the good that is to come to the world through the spread of the gospel of Jesus Christ and the triumph of righteousness on the earth, as human society and institutions are more and more leavened with the truth of God? If we may legitimately appeal to men to choose the way of righteousness and goodness because of the result to themselves in a future world, do we not appeal to an even nobler motive when we ask them to live rightly that generations yet unborn may be blessed with the blessings of a kingdom of God on earth? And may it not be that to some at least this appeal to the nobler motive will be the stronger also? Can we doubt which of these two motives appealed the more strongly to Jesus Christ? Cer-

tainly it would not be wholly a loss, if the temper and tone of our age should compel us to transfer our emphasis from the warning cry to men to flee from the wrath to come and lay hold upon eternal life for themselves, to the appeal to them to cast their lives like seed into the ground that they may spring up and bear fruit in the well-being, physical, moral, and religious, of their fellow-men, both those now living and all those who, we know not for how many generations or centuries, shall live their lives here upon this earth. If there are two worlds that stretch away from this hour into the limitless future—the world that is beyond death and the future of the world that now is—the motives that can be drawn from the latter are not less powerful—are they not even more noble?—than those that can be drawn from the former. We need not be greatly disturbed if in the Providence of God we are being forced to appeal to the strongest motives, which are at the same time the noblest, that can move the human soul.

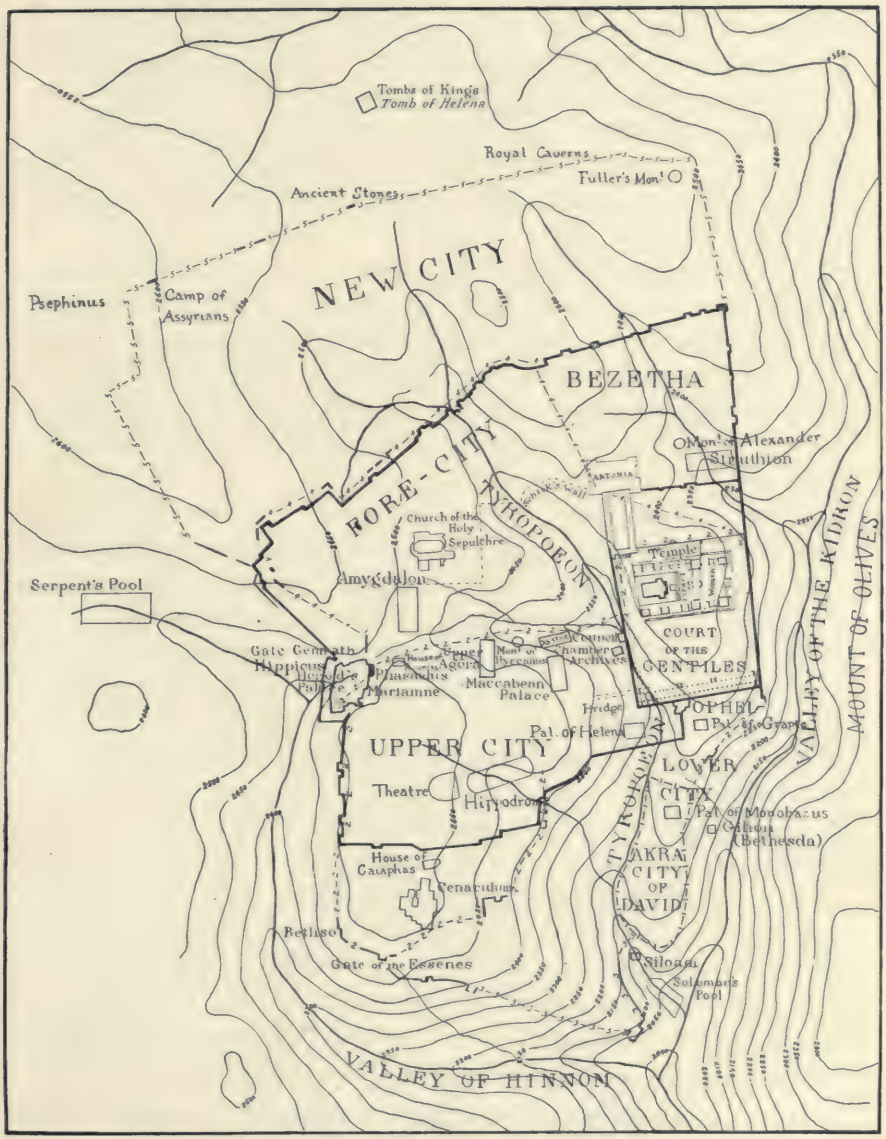
JERUSALEM IN BIBLE TIMES

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XI. JERUSALEM IN THE PERIOD BETWEEN THE OLD AND THE NEW TESTAMENTS

The rebuilding of the Temple and of the ancient city-wall are the only recorded architectural achievements of the Jews in the Persian period. The population of Jerusalem was scanty, even after Nehemiah had drafted a tenth of the colony to help fill up the vacant space within the walls (Neh. 11:1). The poverty was great, and constant feuds with their neighbors left no opportunity for building operations. Under Greek rule the conditions were little better. The Akra, or Citadel, was fortified and occupied alternately by the Egyptians and the Syrians. In 198 B. C. it was in the hands of Scopas, the general of Ptolemy Epiphanes, but was captured from him by Antiochus the Great (Josephus, *Ant.*, xii, 3:3). In 168 B. C. Apollonius Thrasaei, the general of Antiochus Epiphanes, captured Jerusalem, broke down the walls and the houses, defiled the Temple, and set up an altar of the Olympian Zeus upon the altar of burnt-offering. The observance of the Jewish religion was prohibited, and multitudes perished in the ensuing persecution. At this time the Akra was rebuilt out of material taken from the ruined walls and houses, and was filled with a large Syrian garrison that dominated both the city and the Temple (I Macc. 1:33–40; 3:45; Josephus, *Ant.*, xii, 5:4; 6:2). In 164 B. C. when Judas Maccabaeus defeated the Syrians and occupied Jerusalem he was unable to dislodge this garrison (I Macc. 4:36–41; Josephus, *Ant.*, xii, 7:6). The Syrians and renegades continued to maintain themselves here, harassing the Jews and interrupting the Temple services, so that Judas made a strenuous, but unsuccessful, effort to drive them out (*Ant.*, xii, 9:3, 4). During the subsequent wars the Akra served as a center of Syrian agitation in Judea and as a refuge for unsuccessful Syrian armies (*Ant.*, xii, 10:4). In 161 B. C. it was strengthened by the Syrian general Bacchides (*Ant.*, xiii, 1:3), and

with Bethsura remained untaken when all the other fortresses of the land had been captured by the Jews (*Ant.*, xiii, 2:1). Numerous negotiations were conducted between the Hasmonean princes and the



JERUSALEM IN NEW TESTAMENT TIMES

claimants for the Syrian throne with a view to its surrender, but nothing came of these (*Ant.*, xiii, 2:3; 5:2), and in 146 B. C. Jonathan began to lay siege to it (*Ant.*, xiii, 4:9). A wall was built through the midst of the city to exclude the garrison from access to the market-place (*Ant.*, xiii, 5:11), no help came to the Syrians (*Ant.*, xiii, 6:6), and they were reduced to the greatest straits (I Macc. 13:49), so that they were compelled to surrender to Simon in 161 B. C. (I Macc. 13:50). According to Josephus, the Akra was razed to the ground, and even the hill upon which it stood was cut off and thrown into the valley, so that it was no longer higher than the Temple mount (*Ant.*, xiii, 6:7; *War*, i, 2:2; v, 4:1).

In regard to the location of the Akra the numerous references in I Macc. and Josephus leave no room for doubt. It was in the City of David, or Lower City, on the southeast hill immediately south of the Temple. The LXX version identifies it with the Millo of David, Solomon, and Hezekiah (II Sam. 5:9; I Kings 9:15, 24; II Chron. 32:5). It was probably the same as the "fortress which belongs to the house" of Neh. 2:8.[1]

In the wars with the Syrians the chief stronghold of the Maccabeans was the Temple. In 164 Judas took refuge there and successfully resisted Antiochus Eupator until his provisions gave out. Antiochus was so impressed with its strength that he cast down part of its wall before leaving Jerusalem (*Ant.*, xii, 9:5–7). This damage was repaired by Jonathan in 146 B. C., who greatly strengthened the outer wall by the addition of lofty towers (*Ant.*, xiii, 5:11). After the fall of the Akra in 141 B. C. the Temple became the citadel of Jerusalem, and all the Hasmonean princes labored to make it impregnable. The enemies of Hyrcanus II intrenched themselves there (*Ant.*, xiv, 1:2). Aristobulus was besieged there by Aretas and Hyrcanus II (*Ant.*, xiv, 2:1, 2; 4:1, 2). When Pompey advanced to settle the dispute between the two brothers, he was compelled to lay siege to it. He found it defended on the north by a strong wall with lofty, well-built towers, in front of which were a ditch and a deep natural ravine. In order to take it he was compelled to construct a wall of circumvallation with towers that overtopped those of the Temple inclosure. Even these efforts would

[1] For a full discussion of the location of the Akra see Article IV, *Biblical World*, April, 1907, pp. 253–59.

probably have been unsuccessful but for the unwillingness of the Jews to fight on the Sabbath (*Ant.*, xiv, 4:2–4; *War*, ii, 7:1, 3–6). In 37 B. C. Herod besieged the Temple in a similar manner, constructing a wall and towers over against it, and filling up the ditch that lay in front of it (*Ant.*, xiv, 15:14; 16:2; *War*, i, 17:8).

Another construction of the Maccabean age was the Palace that was occupied as a residence by the Hasmonean high-priestly kings. In *Ant.*, xx, 8:11, Josephus states that it was built "of old" (*πάλαι*) by the Hasmoneans, but he gives no precise information as to its origin. Apparently it was already in existence when Hyrcanus I built the Baris (*Ant.*, xviii, 4:3). It was used by Aristobulus as a royal residence (*Ant.*, xiv, 1:2; *War*, i, 6:1), and was subsequently occupied by Pompey after the surrender of the city (*Ant.*, xiv, 4:2, *War*, i, 7:2). In it Herod and Phasaēlus took refuge from the party of Antigonus (*Ant.*, xiv, 13:3, 4; *War*, i, 13:2, 3). According to *Ant.*, xx, 8:11, it was near the Xystus, upon an elevation that afforded a delightful prospect. According to *War*, ii, 16:3, it lay in the Upper City at the end of the bridge which crossed the Tyropoeon Valley to the Temple. These statements show that it must have been situated on the top of the central hill of Jerusalem, in substantially the po ition now occupied by the Synagogue of the Ashkenazim Jews. It occupied a commanding site and was strongly fortified so that it served as a sort of citadel for the Upper City.

From the time of Hyrcanus I (135–105 B. C.) dates the Baris (Heb. *Bîrâ* "fortress"), which stood upon the site of the Tower of Hammeah in Nehemiah's wall (Neh. 3:1), and of the later Antonia (*Ant.*, xviii, 4:3; xv, 11:4), in the place now occupied by the Turkish Barracks at the northwest corner of the Haram.[2] By this fortress the northern side of the Temple was greatly strengthened, and it formed a safe and convenient residence for the Hasmonean princes at the times when they were obliged to perform high-priestly duties in the Temple. Hyrcanus I dwelt here much of the time, and kept here the high-priestly vestments; and his example was followed by all of his successors (*Ant.*, xviii, 4:3; xv, 11:4). Here Aristobulus murdered his brother Antigonus (*Ant.*, xiii, 11:2; *War*, i, 3:3–5). Here the wife and children of the rebellious Aristobulus were imprisoned by Queen

[2] See Article I, *Biblical World*, January, 1907, pp. 13–15.

Alexandra (*Ant.*, xiii, 16:5). Here Hyrcanus II took refuge from the attack of his brother Aristobulus (*Ant.*, xiv, 1:2; *War*, i, 6:1). Hence Antigonus, the last of the Hasmoneans, went out to fall at the feet of the Roman general Sosius (*Ant.*, xiv, 16:2; *War*, i, 18:2).

Besides the Baris the high-priest John Hyrcanus constructed for himself a sepulchral monument that remained a conspicuous landmark



TOMBS IN THE KIDRON VALLEY

in Jerusalem. *War*, v, 6:2, states that Titus made it the objective point in his plan to break through the three northern walls of the city. *War*, v, 7:3, says that after the fall of the third, or outer wall on the north, John and his party defended the Tower of Antonia and the north cloister of the Temple, while Simon and his party defended the ground that was near the Monument of John as far as the gate where water was brought into the Tower of Hippicus. According to *War*, v, 9:2, after the fall of the second wall, Titus proposed to capture the Upper City at the Monument of John, and the Temple at the Tower of Antonia (cf. v, 11:4). These references lead us to look for the

Monument on the north side of the Upper City, just inside of the old first wall on the north.

When Alexander Jannaeus was on his deathbed he advised his queen, Alexandra, to come to terms with the Pharisees, his lifelong enemies. In honor of this conduct the Pharisees built him a splendid monument (*Ant.*, xiii, 15:5; 16:1). According to *War*, v, 7: , it lay outside of the second wall on the north, in the vicinity of the Tower of Antonia and the north cloister of the Temple.

Other tombs of the Maccabean age are the so-called Tomb of Absalom, Tomb of James, and Tomb of Zechariah that are still to be seen hewn in the cliff on the east side of the gorge of the Kidron east of the Haram. Perhaps this is the place called by Josephus *Peristereon*, or "Dove-cote" (*War*, v, 12:2), and the name may be due to the numerous tombs excavated in the rock.

The only other architectural undertaking of the Maccabean age that is known to us is the bridge across the Tyropoeon Valley that connected the Temple with the Upper City. Josephus tells us that Aristobulus broke it down in anticipation of Pompey's attack (*Ant.*, xiv, 4:2; *War*, i, 7:2), but how long before his day it was erected he does not inform us.[3]

With Herod a new building era began in Jerusalem. From Nehemiah to the end of the Hasmonean period there had been little change, but now alterations were undertaken on a magnificent scale. In the early part of his reign, certainly before the battle of Actium in 31 B. C , Herod rebuilt the Baris, or fortress of Hyrcanus I, near the northwest corner of the Temple inclosure and named it Antonia after his friend Marcus Antonius, the Triumvir. The slopes of the hill on which the tower stood were covered with slabs of polished stone that rendered access impossible. Around the top of the cliff was a breastwork three cubits high, and within this inclosure stood the fortress, forty cubits in height, with a tower at each of the corners. The interior was fitted up like a palace with rooms of all sorts, courts, baths, and quarters for troops, so that it seemed like a little city. On the north and east, where there were no natural declivities, the tower was protected by a deep ditch and by the Pool Struthion. By this tower the north wall of the city was greatly strengthened, and a vantage ground was gained

[3] See Article I *Biblical World*, January, 1907, pp. 16 f.

for controlling the Temple quarter. A legion of Roman soldiers was stationed here, and at the least sign of disorder it ran down into the Outer Court and seized the offenders.[4]

In the year 26 B. C. Herod constructed a theater in Jerusalem. Its location is not clearly defined by Josephus, but he seems to indicate that it was in the Upper City in the vicinity of the Maccabean Palace.



Photograph by L. B. Paton

SITE OF HEROD'S PALACE

It was built in the most magnificent style, and was adorned with silver and gold. Plays were presented here on a splendid scale, and condemned criminals were compelled to fight with wild beasts. The walls were adorned with trophies of Augustus' victories, which gave great offense to the Jews who supposed that the suits of armor contained heathen images (*Ant.*, XV, 8:1–4).

In 22 B. C. Herod undertook the building of a new palace for himself. It lay in the northwest corner of the Old City on the site of the modern Turkish Citadel and Armenian Gardens. One of its towers,

[4] See Article I, *Biblical World*, January, 1907, pp. 13–15.

Hippicus, formed the northwest corner of the first, or inner wall of the city (*War*, v, 4:2).[5]

Another tower, Phasaēlus, still survives in the so-called "Tower of David" near the modern Jaffa Gate (cf. *War*, ii, 3:2; v, 3:5; v, 4:4; vi, 8:1, 4; *Ant.*, xvii, 10:2). These two towers, together with a third one, Mariamne, guarded the north wall of the Palace, which was at the same time the north wall of the Inner City. They were built of huge blocks of hard, white limestone. Hippicus was 25 cubits square and 80 cubits high; Phasaēlus, 40 cubits square and about 90 cubits high; Mariamne, 20 cubits square and 55 cubits high. Josephus dwells at length on the interior arrangement of these towers as one of the most magnificent features of the Palace (*War*, v, 4:3, 4). Within the inclosure formed by the city walls on the north and west and the Palace walls on the south and east stood the Palace itself According to Josephus (*War*, v, 4:4; i, 21:1; *Ant.*, xv, 9:3) the magnificence of this edifice was beyond description. It rose to a height of 30 cubits, and was flanked on all sides by towers at regular intervals. It contained apartments and banquet-halls for hundreds of guests. The walls were decorated with rare marbles, and the ceilings were remarkable for the length and the ornamentation of their beams. The furniture was of the most costly sort, and the household vessels were of gold and silver. Round about the Palace lay exquisite gardens and groves containing fountains and statues.

Herod's greatest architectural undertaking was the rebuilding of the Temple, which was begun in the year 20 B. C. The immense constructions that were necessary in order to secure room for the Outer Court, and the size and location of the other courts, have already been described in the discussion of the location of Herod's Temple.[6] The new Outer Court was fully twice as large as that of Zerubbabel's Temple. On the north, east, and west it was inclosed with a porch 30 cubits wide, formed by two rows of white marble columns 25 cubits high supporting a cedar roof. On the south there were four rows of columns and the porch was two stories high. This was known as the Royal Porch. That on the east was known as Solomon's Porch. On the roofs of these porches Roman sentries from the Castle of

[5] See Article VIII, *Biblical World*, August, 1907, pp. 92 f.

[6] See Article I, *Biblical World*, January, 1907, pp. 9–22.

Antonia continually went the round in order to keep watch upon the multitude within. The Inner Court, including the Court of the Priests, the Court of Israel, and the Court of the Women, was surrounded with a balustrade 3 cubits high. Within this fourteen steps led up to the higher inner platform. Then came the *Chel*, or "Terrace," 10 cubits wide, and then a series of gateways opening between exedra that inclosed the court on all sides. These gateways were nine in number, four on the north, four on the south, and one on the east. They had double doors 30 cubits high and 15 cubits broad that were adorned with gold and silver. The gate on the east that led into the Court of the Women was specially magnificent. It was made of Corinthian bronze and was so heavy that it could scarcely be shut by twenty men. The chambers around the inner walls of the Court of the Women were used as treasuries, and in front of them stood boxes for collecting the money-offerings of the worshipers. Between the Court of the Women and the Court of Israel lay the Beautiful or Nikanor Gate, 50 cubits high, with two doors 40 cubits in height covered with massive gold and silver ornaments. The Court of Israel, that was open only to male Israelites who were ceremonially clean, was surrounded with exedra like the Court of the Women, and was entered by three gates on the north and three on the south, besides the gate leading from the Court of the Women. At its western end was the Court of the Priests, inclosing the Sanctuary and the Altar, and separated from the Court of Israel by a beautifully ornamented stone balustrade 1 cubit in height. The main body of the Sanctuary was 100 cubits long, 60 cubits broad, and 100 cubits high. The front on the eastern end was expanded with wings 20 cubits square, so that it formed a sort of propylaeum 100 cubits long and 100 cubits high. The Sanctuary was thus more than twice as large as that of Zerubbabel. It was built of immense blocks of white marble, covered on the front, and perhaps all around on the lower courses, with plates of gold. The wealth spent in its adornment was enormous, and made it one of the wonders of the world. Its white courts, porches, and buildings rose tier upon tier, so that it looked like a great snow-covered mountain, and its marble and gold gleamed so brilliantly in the sun that the eye could scarcely bear to look upon them (*Ant.*, xv, 11; *War*, v, 5; *Babylonian Talmud*, *Middoth*, ii). The best and most recent recon-

A. 9. The Beautiful or Nicanor Gate.

A. 10. The Gate of the women's court (?).

B. 2. Probable position of the Shushan Gate but now the site of the Golden Gate.

C. A conjectural portico with steps forming the entrance to the bridges or causeways leading to the fortress Antonia.

D. 1. The chamber of Lepers. D. 2. The chamber of Wood. D. 3. The chamber of Oil. D. 4. The Chamber of Nazirites.

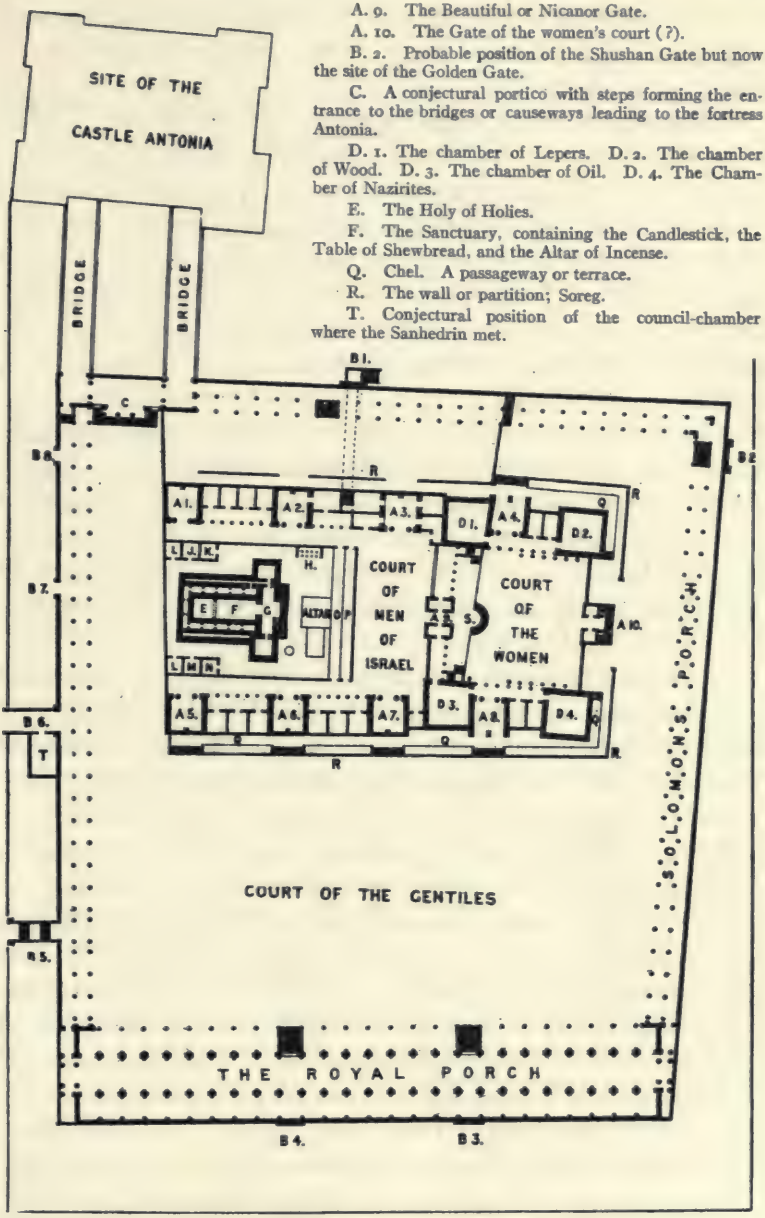
E. The Holy of Holies.

F. The Sanctuary, containing the Candlestick, the Table of Shewbread, and the Altar of Incense.

Q. Chel. A passageway or terrace.

R. The wall or partition; Soreg.

T. Conjectural position of the council-chamber where the Sanhedrin met.



PLAN OF HEROD'S TEMPLE

From "Sacred Sites of the Gospels," by Sanday and Waterhouse

struction of the ground-plan of Herod's Temple is that of Sanday and Whitehouse.[7] With the courteous permission of the publishers it is reproduced on the preceding page.

The Xystus, or Forum, is not mentioned before the time of Herod, and was probably laid out by him. According to *War*, v, 4:2, it lay near the inner wall on the north at the point where it crossed the Tyropoeon Valley to join the west porch of the Temple. According to *War*, ii, 16:5, it was near the end of the bridge that led from the Upper City to the Temple (cf. vi, 6:2). It was the final point of attack of the Romans afer the outer and middle walls on the north had fallen. According to *War*, ii, 16:3, it was used as a meeting-place for public assemblies.

The Hippodrome, which is first mentioned in the year 4 B. C., was probably also the work of Herod. It was occupied as a stronghold by the Jews in their fight with the quaestor Sabinus whose headquarters were in Herod's Palace. It seems, therefore, to have stood upon high ground on the western hill. Spiess[8] plausibly conjectures that it lay on the site of the modern Ḥâret el-Maidân or "Street of the Racecourse" (cf. *Ant.*, xvii, 10:2; *War*, ii, 3:1, 2).

The Council House and Archives were probably also the work of Herod, since they are not mentioned before his time. They lay near together, since both were set on fire by the Romans at the same time (*War*, vi, 6:3). The Council House, according to *War*, v, 4:2, lay near the inner wall on the north, between the Xystus and the west porch of the Temple. Both buildings, apparently, were situated in the Tyropoeon Valley close to the west wall of the Temple, and were south of the inner wall on the north, since they were not burned by the Romans until after the Upper City had been captured.

The Serpent's Pool (Birket Mamilla), the Pool Amygdalon (Birket Ḥammâm el-Batraq), and the Pool Struthion (Birket Israʿîl) are not mentioned in the Old Testament, nor by Josephus before the time of the siege of Jerusalem. It is possible, therefore, that they also may have been the work of Herod, and may have been designed to supply his Palace and the Castle of Antonia with water.[9]

[7] Sanday, *Sacred Sites of the Gospels* (Oxford, 1903), p. 116.

[8] *Das Jerusalem des Josephus*, p. 30.

[9] See Article III, *Biblical World*, March, 1907, pp. 174–82.

AESTHETIC AND IMAGINATIVE ELEMENTS IN THE WORDS OF JESUS

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The scribes and rabbis of Christ's day were singularly lacking in imagination. Hence they could bring forth out of their treasure lore things old, but nothing new, fresh, stimulating. "Rabbi Jehudah said," "Beth Shammai decide," "But Beth Hillel decree," "Another objection is made: It is written," and so on, through weary disquisitions and endless verbal quibblings of ancient teachers. A veritable desolation and a waste were the methods of contemporary rabbis when our Lord startled the multitudes by teaching as one having authority and not as the scribes. These, with quotation in endless genealogy back to the distinguished teachers of the past, led their pupils through an arid wilderness of musty and often meaningless precedent.

Jesus, on the contrary, was rich in imagination, without which no teacher can bring forth things new. It was this element in Christ's method of presenting truth that caused the masses to hear him gladly (Mark 12:37). He was an artist, a painter, a poet. What he touched he vivified. When the rabbis were done with a doctrine it looked like a plant after a blasting wind of the desert had blown over it. Jesus made the old teachings so live again that they showed the bloom of youth in their full-blown petals; for he came not to destroy but to fulfill. So there is altogether wanting in Christ's method any of those ways of the rabbis by which much was hung upon a letter, a word, or some quirk or turn in grammar. Far freer was he, of this, even than the great apostle Paul, who, brought up at the feet of Rabbi Gamaliel (Acts 22:3), could not altogether divest himself of this method; as when he writes of "seed" and "seeds" (Gal. 3:16); of the bondwoman and the free as Mount Sinai, and the Jerusalem that is yet to be (Gal. 4:23 ff.). Jesus, going to the Old Testament and drinking "immediately where it springeth," had no need to travel the dreary road of the Jewish scribe. That he knew the Old Testament was

admitted by his critics when they exclaimed: "How knoweth this man letters having never learned!" (John 7:15); that is, from a rabbinic school.

Observe, then, how the poetic temperament of Jesus led him to the use of the Old Hebrew forms of poetry, so familiar in the psalms and in other poetic portions of the Old Testament; such as is found in the "Wisdom books" and in the glowing addresses of the prophets, as their very souls burned with the fervor of their themes, breathed upon from above.

Parallelism, the most common mark of Hebrew poetry, is quite common in the words of our Lord. Someone has called this balancing of line against line "Nature's own poetry," since it is found in the rise and fall of the fountain; the ebb and flow of the tide; the swinging to and fro of the bough, with which the wind plays; the alternate strokes of the wings of the flying bird; the heaving and sinking of the bosom when emotion holds sway.

The so-called "Beatitudes" (Matt., chap. 5) are among the choicest examples of the simple Hebrew couplet:

> Blessed are the meek
> For they shall inherit the earth. (Vs. 5.)
>
> Blessed are the pure in heart
> For they shall see God. (Vs. 8.)

Indeed, the entire "Sermon on the Mount" is in form more or less poetic, as is oriental oratory generally.

Christ used the synonymous parallelism:

> How shall we liken the kingdom of God,
> Or in what parable shall we set it forth?—Mark 4:30.

The examples are numerous; as in the lines:

> For there is nothing covered that shall not be revealed;
> Nor hid, that shall not be known.—Matt. 10:26.

Antithetic parallelism is frequent:

> Heaven and earth shall pass away,
> But my word shall not pass away.—Matt. 24:35.

And again:

> The foxes have holes, and the birds of the air have nests,
> But the Son of man hath not where to lay his head.—Matt. 8:20.

The antithesis is sometimes double:

> They that are whole need not the physician
> But they that are sick,
> I came not to call the righteous
> But sinners to repentance.—Mark 2:17.

Of similar variety are the following lines, except that in the words just quoted the antithesis is in the respective lines of the couplets; while in the following the antithesis is in the couplets themselves:

> If any man walk in the day, he stumbleth not
> Because he seeth the light of this world,
> But if a man walk in the night, he stumbleth
> Because there is no light in him.—John 11:9 f.

For further examples of antithetic parallelism, see Matt. 21:44; 26:41; 6:14 f.; 4:25; 12:35.

There are also examples of "introverted parallelism," i. e., where the lines that are, in sense, parallel, are not in the same couplet (as *a*, *a'*, *b*, *b'*), but *a*, *b*, *b'*, *a'* (cf. the rhyme in Tennyson's *In Memoriam* where the first line rhymes with the fourth and the second with the third):

> Give not that which is holy to the dogs
> Neither cast your pearls before swine,
> Lest they trample them under their feet,
> And turn again and rend you.—Matt. 7:6.

It will be noticed that while line one is balanced against line two, and line three against line four; yet lines one and four belong together as referring to *dogs;* while lines two and three are to be taken together as referring to *swine.* So also there are examples of "alternative parallelism," as in the words:

> If ye keep my commandments
> Ye shall abide in my love.
> As I keep my father's commandments
> And abide in his love.

Here we have the form *a*, *b*, *a'*, *b'*, lines one and three balancing; and lines two and four.

What Professor Moulton has called the "envelope structure" is found in several passages (cf. Psalm 8, where the poem is enfolded between the lines repeated, "O Lord, our Lord how excellent is thy name in all the earth"). In Matt. 7:16–20, we have:

By their fruits ye shall know them:
Do men gather grapes of thorns
Or figs of thistles?
Even so every good tree bringeth forth good fruit
But the corrupt tree bringeth forth evil fruit.
A good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit
Neither can a corrupt tree bring forth good fruit;
Every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit
Is hewn down and cast into the fire.
Therefore, by their fruits ye shall know them.—Matt. 7:16 ff.

So also there is an interesting example of this same *envelope* effect, with the lines within the envelope, introverted,

No man can serve two masters
For either he will hate the one (*a*)
And love the other (*b*)
Or else he will hold to the one (*b'*)
And despise the other. (*a'*)
Ye cannot serve God and mammon.

("Love," corresponds with "hold to;" "hate" with "despise.")

The ordinary couplet of Hebrew poetry often yields to the tristich, which we see (doubled) in the well-known words:

Ask and ye shall receive,
Seek and ye shall find,
Knock and it shall be opened unto you:
For every one that asketh receiveth
And he that seeketh findeth
And to him that knocketh it shall be opened.—Matt. 7:7 f.

While these instances of Hebrew poetry are scattered throughout the reports of Jesus' sayings, they are specially numerous in the more extended discourses and prayers, such as the Sermon on the Mount, Matt., chaps. 5–7; cf. Luke 6:20–49; in the discourse to the Seventy, in the last discourse to the disciples, in the eschatological discourse in Matt., chaps. 24, 25; Mark, chap. 13; in the Lord's Prayer, Matt. 6:9 ff. and "the intercessory prayer," John, chap. 17. But it is interesting to note how large a number of the best examples of this Hebrew poetry are found in the most Hebraic of the gospels, that of Matthew.

Our Lord's use of figures of speech deserves attentive study. He was a master in the art of illustration. While he did not originate the parable as a method of instruction, no other teacher used it so well.

The parables of the Lost Son (Luke, chap. 15) and of The Good Samaritan (Luke 10:25–37) are among the finest brief specimens of didactic fiction ever written. They cannot be surpassed in any literature. And for a deft and artful blending of instruction from nature and from history there is nothing finer than the words of Jesus as he pointed to the rich scarlet as it crowds the valleys and even climbs the hill-tops:

> Consider the lilies of the field—how they grow,
> They toil not, neither do they spin,
> And yet I say unto you that Solomon in all his glory
> Was not arrayed like one of these.—Mark 6:28 f.

"The Kingdom of heaven is *like*" was frequently upon Christ's lips. "Unto what shall I liken this generation?" asked he concerning those who were too near to see themselves as he saw them. From the tiny seed cast into the earth, to the huge tree plucked up by the roots; from crude net cast into the sea, to the goodly pearl of great price; from the careless children playing in the market-place to "Solomon in all his glory"—the entire range of familiar nature and of human industry paid tribute to the Master's power of lucid speech. Now simile, now metaphor, metonomy, hyperbole, personification, parable —all illumined his masterful teaching. How expressive the figure, in the poetic words:

> The lamp of the body is the eye:
> If therefore thine eye be single,
> Thy whole body shall be full of light.
> But if thine eye be evil,
> Thy whole body shall be full of darkness.
> If therefore, the light that is in thee be darkness,
> How great is the darkness!

There is nothing more tender, or more beautifully pathetic, than the personification and apostrophe to Jerusalem, lying in the distance, as he overlooked the city:

> O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, which killest the prophets
> And stonest them that are sent unto thee;
> How often would I have gathered thy children together
> As a hen doth gather her brood under her wings,
> But ye would not.

There is a tradition that Jesus wept but never laughed—and seldom smiled. And yet Jesus showed many times a keen sense of humor,

the ability to disclose the ridiculous side of some absurd situation—though never in a way that showed levity or frivolity. There is an old Russian saying which describes humor as "an invisible tear through a visible smile." The Master was always of serious purpose, and yet how full of real humor is his description of the supercilious, self-satisfied Pharisee standing in the temple praying, enumerating his catalogue of virtues; thanking God he was not as other men, "or even as this publican!" The Pharisees lacked imagination; the ability to see the ridiculous side of their own performances; the implications of many of their dicta. Jesus with his vivid imagination and keen wit, laid all bare. Consider the humor in the description of the Pharisee as he "strains out a gnat and swallows a camel!" Or with what explosive effect the words must have come, "How much better is a man than a sheep!" And how subtly fine was the humor in the description of the men who excused themselves from attendance on the feast (Luke 14:18–20).

As practical as were the teachings of Jesus, the idealistic elements are among the most conspicuous features of his message. He presupposed the perfect man and let men know how such a one will act and think. He constantly sought to

> Teach him to attain
> By shadowing forth the unattainable.

"Be ye perfect even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect," Matt. 5:48. He continually drew men's minds aloft, by calling them from the earthly domain, as he spoke again and again of "the kingdom *of the heavens*." In him life becomes "forever a disappearing and vanishing ideal," toward which men move but which they never realize. There is no wonder that his life and teachings have enkindled the inspiration and genius of all the great artists since his day, of musician, poet, and seer. No wonder that Michelangelo and Raphael, Dante and Milton, Browning and Tennyson, Beethoven and Handel have done their best under the inspiration of his character and teachings. Their genius was but broken lights of that Light, which coming into the world lighteth every man. Theirs was an inspiration differing it may be, but no less real than that which enabled Isaiah to see the ideal reign of peace; or Paul to be lifted up to the heaven of heavens, or which introduced the beloved John to the beatific vision in which

he saw the crowning glory of all things, with the Lamb as the unfailing light (Rev. 22:5).

The Christ came to save the whole man, as well as the whole world; to redeem the *soul* of man in the sense of the psychologist as well as in that of the theologian. Religiously speaking no function of soul is more important than the imagination. The beginnings of sin lurk there and through the imagination, twin sister to faith, man sees the possibility of better things. It is not mere fancy. "Fancy," says Ruskin, "plays like a squirrel in its circular prison and is happy; but Imagination is a pilgrim on the earth and her home is in heaven."

So Jesus touched and enkindled the imagination of men, that he might exalt and purify their aesthetic as well as their ethical life; turning their ugliness into sweetness and light through the true "vision and faculty divine."

CAN THE GOSPELS BE TRUSTED?

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Christianity is a historical religion. By this we mean not merely that it has entered into the history of the world, and that its career can be traced, stage by stage, but rather that it is rooted in certain historical events, is built on facts open to scientific investigation. The Christian religion issues from an actual, historic person who was born, lived and taught, and suffered and died. Now the New Testament contains the story of this person, tells how he acted and spoke, how he conceived of God, of man, of himself, of human destiny: tells also how his followers understood him and came to construe life and the world through him. In other words, the great value of the New Testament lies in this, that it describes the creative period in Christianity, the actual founding of the religion. And within the New Testament, we are here concerned mainly with the gospels.

Are the gospels genuine history? In reading them are we in contact with actual fact or with a confused mixture of myth and legend, conveying some element of truth, it may be, but an element now impossible to extricate from the surrounding mass of accretions?

Important as this question is, it is possible to make too much of it. We must not confound the gospels with the Gospel. The gospels did not create the religious life of the first generations of believers; they were the product of that life. The oral transmission of the Gospel preceded the literary construction of the gospels. If criticism should discover that the written records on important matters were unhistorical, the Christian religion would indeed be poorer and thinner but it would still be the greatest and most powerful factor in the souls of men. The Christ who lived and died and rose again would still communicate his life from age to age. As Christianity arose independently of the gospels, so would it survive all the weaknesses that the extremest criticism can allege against them. In this spirit of confidence I approach the question: Are the gospels historical?

When we speak today of any work as historical we mean that the writer conceived it in a scientific spirit with the view of explaining the causes and interrelations of past events. The author has no thesis to defend: his own sentiments and aspirations are not at stake; his one anxiety is to unroll before our eyes as in a panorama the history of earth's kingdoms, to unveil the slow and complicated causes operating therein. Now the gospels are not in that sense historical. Their motive is not scientific, their aim is not a full and exhaustive biography of Christ in which his career should be traced from birth to death, and the development of his genius under the various influences that played upon it, set forth in due order. On the contrary, their motive is religious and practical. They were written to supply the needs of a community that believed in Jesus as the Christ and Son of God. Their object was to keep alive faith in Jesus Christ, to be a substitute for the preaching, and to be an apologetic defense of the new religion against the attacks of Jews and pagans. The method of realizing this purpose was historical. That is, the gospels are memoirs or memorabilia of the life of Jesus, a selection of his sayings and doings set down in a rough sort of order so that men might be convinced of his claims, and to keep his memory green in the hearts of his followers.

The question that is really vital is *not*, Are the gospels historical in the sense that they contain no elements derived from fancy and legend? but, Do they perpetuate a true image of Christ as he lived on earth? In seeking an answer to this question let us confine our attention to the first three gospels, which stand in a group by themselves. The Fourth Gospel is not so much a history of Jesus as an interpretation of that history, and should be classed from our present point of view with the epistles. Moreover, its claims are under discussion at the present time, and scholars are too much divided as to its character for us at present to place it on a level with the Synoptic Gospels. However we may view it, we feel in reading it that we are no longer in the simple, matter-of-fact atmosphere of the earlier evangelists: it is a profound theologian and literary artist who is speaking to us.

On the threshold of our inquiry we are challenged with two objections to the credibility of the gospel narratives:

1. More than a generation separated the writers from the facts.

Here was room for the growth of unhistorical or legendary elements. Without doubt this contention is true. Were it otherwise and did no secondary element creep into the Christian tradition during the half-century or so between the crucifixion and the composition of the earlier gospels, we would be compelled to assume a miracle out of all analogy to the ordinary working of divine providence. How then did this unhistorical element arise? Partly by the anxiety among the primitive disciples to read the Old Testament into every incident, even the most trivial, in Christ's life. They could not rise above the limitations of their age. Prophecy must find fulfilment in crude and literal fact. For example, Mark tells us of the wine mingled with myrrh which the women of Jerusalem were accustomed to provide for criminals condemned to die by crucifixion. But Matthew says that the wine was mingled with "gall"—with obvious allusion to Ps. 69:1. Another influence at work was the unavoidable tendency to exaggerate the element of wonder in the mighty works of Christ. An illustration is found in the story of the Cursing of the Fig-Tree. Mark makes a day intervene between the curse and its fulfilment: Matthew writes: "the fig-tree was immediately dried up." Finally, a legendary element, the secret of whose origin it is idle at this late date to attempt to discover, must be frankly conceded. The story of the entering of the devils into the swine of Gadara must be accounted for in this way, though it is highly probable that some genuine fact lies behind it. Matthew's account of our Lord's death and resurrection, including as it does such incidents as an earthquake, the apparition of many risen saints in the streets of Jerusalem, the appearance of an angel like lightning with raiment white as snow, the sealing and guarding of the sepulcher, seems to show the same fanciful influences at work as we find in the Jewish apocalyptic writings of the time.

On the other hand, these elements can be easily detached from the main story, leaving the portrait of Christ unharmed. Jülicher remarks truly: "The true merit of the synoptists is that they, in spite of all their poetic touches, did not repaint but handed down the Christ of history. They omitted much, changed much, but the modern Jewish attempt to treat the sayings of Jesus as a selection from rabbinical wisdom is futile." It must be remembered that though many years separate the writers from the facts, the *sources* of the gospels were much earlier

than the gospels themselves. Luke tells us that he made most careful effort to get behind the popular tradition to the accounts of "eye-witnesses." And a most striking corroboration of the historicity of the mass of the gospel material is found in the fact that it betrays so little the consciousness of later events and conditions. To the minds of primitive Christians God had signally avenged the death of his Son in the fall of Jerusalem. This event seemed to cut all history in two: between the order of things that went before and the order of things that came after, a great gulf was fixed. It is not too much to say that if the gospel story had been formulated after the year 70, it would have been possessed with this overwhelming disaster, and everywhere we could read premonitions of the coming storm; as a matter of fact it has left few traces on the gospel records. We must conclude that the main narrative was formed before the year 70 A. D.

2. It is affirmed that there are many discrepancies in the gospels, and that this fact invalidates their testimony. It is easy to compile an imposing list of such contradictions. Then, is it asked, how can witnesses who constantly contradict one another claim our confidence? But the law-courts resound daily with similar contradictions, yet nobody thinks of giving up the quest for truth and justice; nay, substantial truth in circumstantial variety is so much the character of human testimony that any exact agreement of witnesses is regarded with suspicion. So in writing history the historian must penetrate beneath the discrepant views of witnesses to the main fact common to all; he will not discredit the fact because of the discrepancies.

Turn now from the negative to the positive side of our discussion. Two generations of scholars have been at work sifting and criticizing the gospels, seeking to solve the problem of their origin. If we set aside the extremists on both sides, and ask what the main body of modern biblical scholars hold probable, we obtain the following answer: (1) The Synoptic Gospels were written in the first century, 65–100 A. D., and embody a tradition which in the main took shape prior to the year 70 A. D. (2) They are based on the traditions and writings of eye-witnesses, and in the main are probably correct. (3) The earliest gospel is Mark, founded on reminiscences of Peter and his circle and compiled by a Jewish Christian, familiar with the original disciples and rejoicing in Christianity as a new world-religion. (4) Mark is

the main source used by Matthew and Luke, in addition to which they used a collection of logia or oracles of Christ like those which form the Sermon on the Mount. Some scholars think that Luke besides these two sources, had a special document from which he drew the material which he gives in chaps. 10–18. (5) Matthew's gospel was drawn up by an unknown writer who combined the gospel of Mark and the collection of logia compiled by the apostle Matthew. This would account for the tradition connecting Matthew with the gospel.

To sum up in the words of Dr. Harnack:

> Sixty years ago David Frederick Strauss thought that he had entirely destroyed the historical credibility not only of the fourth but also of the first three gospels as well. The historical criticism of two generations has succeeded in restoring that credibility in its main outlines. . . . . Criticism today universally recognizes the unique character of the gospels. . . . . When all is said, the Greek language lies upon these writings only like a diaphanous veil and it requires hardly any effort to retranslate their contents into Hebrew or Aramaic. That the tradition here presented to us is, in the main, at first hand is obvious.

Perhaps some one will ask, apart from critical minutiae, how can I convince myself that in reading the gospels I am in touch with fact not fable? Let me put such a questioner in possession of a method by which he can gain the conviction he seeks. Read the gospels intelligently, setting aside for the moment whatever is difficult or unacceptable, and gradually there will rise before you the figure of a unique person, a true Son of Man, who hated the bigotry of priest and pedantry of scribe, who was the consistent foe of materialism and conventionality in religion, the sympathetic friend of publican and sinner, the healer of disease and forgiver of sin, the prophet who arraigned his age before the bar of conscience and of God, the true servant of humanity who loved all men with a sacred passion in the strength of which on their behalf he laid down his life. Matthew's picture is "prophetic," Mark's is "realistic," Luke's is "idealistic;" yet these are not three pictures but one. And the question is: Whence arose the Christ-picture with all its freshness, originality, and spiritual sublimity? Every attempt to account for it, while rejecting the evangelical facts, has broken down. Who today believes in the cold and meager Christ of Paulus, the mythical Christ of Strauss, the romantic, sentimental Christ of Renan? No; the more men study the gospels the more they feel that here is a study from life. But it may be asked:

How can we be sure that we have the actual sayings of Christ and not those which his followers put into his mouth? Well, there is a group of sayings which were obnoxious to a later time and therefore prove their genuineness by their very presence in the Gospel narrative. Christ's refusal to be called "good" for "no one is good save God only" appears to imply that he called in question his own goodness, and we know from Matthew's gospel that a later time felt the saying to be an offense; his profession of ignorance of the day and hour of the final judgment, his assertion that blasphemy against the Son of Man shall be forgiven, and his cry from the Cross: "My God, My God, why hast thou forsaken me?"—all these passages are regarded by such an extreme critic as Schmiedel as unquestionable. But if this be so, we can go farther. For the fact that these writers prove honesty and nearness to the facts when we can check them should lead us to trust them when we cannot check them. And a valuable contribution of their honesty is seen in the fact that they recount incidents which throw discredit on the Twelve. The wranglings of the disciples, their mean disputes and idle ambitions, the denial of Peter, the fall of Judas, the cowardice of the entire band—these things are historical on the face of them. Every motive is against their being fiction, every argument is in favor of their historicity. Or again, take such a body of teaching as is embodied in the parables. Its simplicity, spirituality, and unity of conception demand *one* mind as creative source. These stories are so apt, so similar in style, so like in outward form to rabbinical instruction yet so far from it in spirit, that we may be certain they really belong to Jesus Christ. Finally, there are great organizing conceptions, such as the kingdom of God and the fatherhood of God, which stood in open contradiction to the ideas of the time. Wherever their inwardness and spirituality are set forth we may be certain we are listening to the words of the prophet who stands above his age, not to the words of his followers who are much nearer its level. Thus we may assure ourselves that in the main the gospels enshrine the genuine image and preserve the real thought of the Founder of Christianity.

THE CHILD-MIND AND CHILD-RELIGION

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IV. THE DEVELOPMENT OF SPIRITUALITY

Whatever else it consists in, "spirituality" involves the normal development of each of the various native endowments of the child, after the manner described in the preceding article. Each of these must be refined by being carried up onto a higher "level" of consciousness. If any lies dormant, or if it lack enrichment through increased complexity and through a heightening of the objects of consciousness-there results crassness or bestiality. Instead of hungering after right, eousness, there is gluttony; instead of responsiveness to beauty, sensuality; instead of seeking treasures in heaven, miserliness; and so on throughout. Spirituality likewise demands symmetry. The various elements of the mental life must be in the right proportion. An impulse beautiful in itself, or when properly blended with the other elements of consciousness, is a blemish when in excess. The humility of Uriah Heep, the charity that gives indiscriminately, and the self-effacement of the ascetic are to be curbed.

Spirituality implies, also, just such a functioning of each of the instincts and impulses as will bring the child into harmonious relationship with the outside world. The external order with which the child is to become adjusted, usually with friction and difficulty, presents itself in two aspects: that of persons and that of an ideal world of possible personal fulfilment. The feeling after adjustment to the one has given rise to morality, the other, religion. It will be profitable to consider these separately for a moment.

Morality, in so far as it is an instinct, exists for the sake of personal and social adjustment. Stated negatively, the principle is that were life so simple and constant that, to use Spencer's dictum, the inner and outer relations needed no progressive adjustment, there would be no consciousness; furthermore, were it so definite and trustworthy in all its responses, now that it has once grown complex, that there

were no maladjustments between the individual and other persons and so no longing for a restoration, there would be no conscience and no morality. So far from this being the case, the harmony is threatened at every waking moment through the never-ceasing interplay of a bundle of impulses and a multiplicity of external situations. The child would not steal; but the sweetmeats or the pieces of money are just there, and taking a little will make no difference; he would not lie, but the mishap is trying to his pride, and coloring the facts a little is no real falsehood; he understands fair play and honor; but the thoughtless friend richly deserves a punishment the infliction of which need not be in the open—such, in thousand-fold ways are the ever-recurring temptations through which the harmony of the individual and social group is broken. Again, perfect adjustment at one time or age is no security against later strain and tension. Life means growth and change. The quality of life fitted to one environment may be at variance with the next. The high degree of self-regard in children and animals is normal in a low plane of development when existence depends solely upon the strength of its individual units, but is abnormal when, later, social responsiveness and co-operation have become primary virtues, among the gregarious types. A reconstruction to fit the new conditions is demanded in such a case; this means conflict, for the direction of life is already fixed through a set of personal habits and by race habits or instincts, which hold the child's life almost irrevocably in the direction of the old responses. At the same time the demands of society are insistent and inviolable. Its new criteria of conduct are so firmly established in custom and proclaimed through creeds, doctrines, and the unwritten social codes to such a degree that they dare not be disobeyed. Hence it is that the old race life and the "ideal" life of the present and future are both claiming the soul of the child as their own. It is in the midst of this forced warfare between the individual and the social aggregate that the moral sense of the child is awakened.[1]

[1] For a description of the process of moral development through the interplay of these two aspects of the self, the racial and the social, the reader is referred to the volume *Social and Ethical Interpretations*, by James Mark Baldwin. From the discussion above, it will be evident that the conflict is not simply between the "self of habit" and the social self or "self of accommodation," but between any impulse and the total self with which it must be in consonance, when that impulse threatens the

The moral life bears unmistakable marks of such an origin. Conscience, its monitor, is something that pricks or gnaws, or, in turn, it is something that feels guilt as would a person in the act of reaping a penalty for a misdeed. The moral life is described in terms of a fight or struggle or battle. In nearly all sacred literature the warfare is objectified, as being carried on between God and Satan or a god and a demon. Remorse has its setting in terms of tears, pain, and failure.

Although the conflict is a varied one, there is no doubt that it has centered in the opposition between the narrowly personal self and the social self, just as Baldwin and other students have said. Conscience is apt to be a "voice," which is an abstraction from the precepts, commands, and threats of those in all ages who have held authority over the individual, and of the cutting gossip of the multitude. It may be "seared," as though it were a hypersensitive thing which should respond quickly to every touch, but which may, like a sore, be burned over or otherwise made callous. Moral "responsibility" is the quality of responding to the suggestions and wills of others. "Duty" implies a debt to one's fellows. The term "morality" itself involves "mos," custom, and means that one is keeping pace with his fellows and observing strictly the standards they have set.

In the midst of the difficulties of personal and social adjustment there have arisen many secondary or derived instincts, such as modesty, courage, knighthood, civility, propriety, jealousy, and love. The moral sense may, in one of its aspects, be regarded as one among these derived instincts, the most abstracted and highly organized of them all, whose function is to insure a right relationship between the individual and the social group. It may be called, therefore, a *regulative* instinct, a term which Marshall has applied to religion,[2] but which might with even greater appropriateness be given to morality. It

harmony through being too strong or too weak. The most adequate presentation of the various phases of the conflict is perhaps, that of Josiah Royce, "On Certain Psychological Aspects of Moral Training," *International Journal of Ethics*, Vol. III, pp. 413 ff. "The moral life [says Royce] is essentially a life of conflict, of conflict between humane and narrowly selfish impulses, of the conflict between reason and caprice, between order and chaos, yes, and of the conflict between the two moral motives themselves (self-sacrifice and self-perfection) which ideally ought always to harmonize, but which in our blindness we do harmonize so ill."

[2] H. R. Marshall, *Instinct and Reason*, New York, 1898.

centers in the craving after personal wholeness, wherever the integrity of the social self is threatened, and is a reflection of the judgments of society upon the quality of conduct in the individual consistent with its own well-being.

Religion has a somewhat different source. The person is not only surrounded by a social group, but becomes aware of an ideal world of possible personal fulfilment and of the attainment to perfect truth, goodness, and beauty. He grows dimly conscious of a permanence in the midst of change, conservation in the midst of apparent defeat and evil, and of the real amidst the fleeting and phenomenal. The feeling after a harmonious adjustment to the total reality has given rise primarily to the religious impulse. "Spirituality" is in terms of this ideal adjustment. Indeed religion is this higher refinement and ideal adjustment in the process of making. It is somewhat later than morality in its development and supplements it. If morality consists in a high degree of abstraction from a feeling of specific duties into a sense of moral obligation and into conscience, the abstractions that furnish the content of religion are even greater. The reaches of consciousness are vaster in every direction. There is a preperception not only of ends but of supreme ideals of personality and of truth. The limits of time and space begin to stretch away to eternity and infinity. The finite relates itself to the absolute. The race memories that speak through conscience begin to assume the majesty of the voice of a deity. The youth becomes faintly conscious of "the unregarded river of his life," that courses through him, and deep answers to deep in his heart. His life, in so far as it is conscious and purposeful, is centered upon the present and its engrossing occupations.

> Yet still, from time to time, vague and forlorn,
> From the soul's subterranean depth upborne,
> As from an infinitely distant land,
> Come airs, and floating echoes.

These deeper soundings of the soul are felt as a sense of sin—a universal and not simply a Christian phenomenon—if the life is not yet attuned to them; they come as remorse when the mass of smaller impulses are about to sweep them away; they break forth as longing, aspiration, hope, love, and joy when the heart responds to them, and

open up new vistas of freedom to the personal life. The religious life centers in this

> added dimension of emotion, this enthusiastic temper of espousal, in regions where morality strictly so called can at best but bow its head and acquiesce. It ought to mean nothing short of this new reach of freedom for us, with the struggle over, the keynote of the universe sounding in our ears and everlasting possession spread before our eyes.[3]

Each person from the day of birth is guided in his behavior by the deeper life of the race that speaks through a set of instincts. He is carried on safely into a fairy world of untried experiences and of attainments that he can in no wise foresee. The response of the devotee to the impulses of religion is like that of the child or animal to the deeper promptings of instinct. Religion is, indeed, the deepest seated of all the instincts, reaching back into the profoundest experiences of the race and leading mankind onward into new reaches of perfection and guiding it into fields of truth where the path has not yet been made plain through custom and precept.

Religion does not, however, become so abstracted from actual experiences that it can lead on independently of them. It is, in fact, the tersest of records of the successes and failures of specific kinds of action. It finds its rise in a conflict that grows out of the warring of the impulses and instincts, each of which would in turn conquer the personality and gain entire possession of consciousness. Stated negatively again, were life so simple, the instincts so few, of so direct response, and so trustworthy that the symmetry and harmony of consciousness were never broken, religion would not exist. Such is the case only with the lowest savages, animals, and children. Walt Whitman wrote:

> I think I could turn and live with animals, they are so placid and self-contained;
> They do not sweat and whine about their condition,
> They do not lie awake in the dark and weep for their sins,
> They do not make us sick discussing their duty to God,
> Not one is dissatisfied, not one is demented with the mania of owning things,
> Not one kneels to another, nor to his kind that lived a thousand years ago,
> Not one is respectable or unhappy over the whole earth.

The author of these lines was not able to attain the placidity and serenity he coveted, just because he was a man and not an animal. He was great among his kind by virtue of the fact that he longed and

[3] William James, *Varieties of Religious Experience*, p. 48.

struggled and strove after perfection and freedom. These were ever receding ideals as his richly developing and ramifying life sought ever anew to attain wholeness. He who held up the sparrow that had no care for its food, and the lily that toils not nor spins, as ideals of character, saw the heights and depths, toiled and sorrowed and felt the tragedy of the world as have few, if any, other creatures. It looks as if the geniuses of religion had attained spirituality almost in proportion to the strain, tension, and struggle going on within, which are progressively resolved into wholeness and victory.

> When the fight begins within himself,
> Man's worth something. God stoops o'er his head;
> Satan looks up between his feet. Both tug:
> He's left, himself i' the middle; the soul awakes
> And grows.

The conflict in religion is more varied than in morality. It concerns the organization of the personality at its deeper sources and at the points of its highest culmination. The soul is reaching out, not only into a world of persons but into rapport with the larger sphere of the absolute. This transcendent truth it interprets through a refined sensitivity, as it reaches out heartfully toward it in the attitudes of prayer and faith; it interprets it also through the discordant judgments of the collective mind as these are crystallized in creeds and religious codes; it interprets it yet again through the many-voiced instinctive promptings, and it is the rare personality in whom these sound forth with the unison of a symphony. The conflict is also more tragic than that of the moral life. Each act is judged by standards not always self-consistent, which seem to be and claim to be absolute. The cleavage of the self, as it is drawn between the high and low and the good and evil, is deeper. There are hopeless anomalies to solve. The person loves goodness but seeks the evil. He is impelled into unreason and apparently unreasonable modes of life. He is driven to forsake the certainties of sense and respond to unseen verities; he must rely upon faith and not upon perception and common-sense, believe in love as against law, and accept God and heaven in preference to the "world" and all forms of "worldliness."

The reader will forgive the abstractness in the foregoing discussion of what professes to be a specific problem in proportion as it has now

brought out into clear perspective what is at best a somewhat hazy and involved question, that of the religious culture of children. It is a simple truth that the business of the religious teacher and every parent is to take each child as a potential human being and lead it on into the fullest spiritual heritage of the race, until it becomes in turn a positive unit in the religious development of its kind, and it is not his business primarily to teach a given amount of this and that doctrine. Having seen the child as a complex unit composed of a group of instinct feelings and reactions capable of refinement and harmonization and having noticed the way religion springs up in race life as a means of harmonizing the personality within itself and guiding it in its progressive adjustment to the supersensuous reality about it, some aspects of the intricate problem will have come out into clearness.

The first of these is that, in the spiritual culture of the child, the absolute, or as religionists call it, God or the Divine Presence in the world, is to be made a living fact to him. It is one of the functions of religion to lead the mind on beyond its narrowly circumscribed existence and decentralize it through leading it to feel itself a part of a greater reality on which it depends and through which it finds its freedom. This is perhaps the first in importance and certainly the most difficult matter in religious education. How may the fact of this Divine Presence become a warm inner sense? How may its meaning not be covered up in a mere name? How may it not be cheapened by vain repetition? What are the steps by which the child may progress from a picture of God in terms of childhood imagery to a feeling of the God-life as an inner reality after which the heart yearns? This question will have to be put aside for later discussion, in connection with the stages of child-development.

A second fact is that the child is to be filled with rich experiences that are his own at first hand. There is no growth without conflict and no attainment without struggle. We have seen evidence in both morality and religion, of pain and joy, of heart-ache and deliverance, of struggle and victory. As this has been one of the conditions of the spiritual development of the race, so must it be in greater or less degree, in that of each person. Religion is not something that can be superimposed upon the mind of the child from without; it must be forged out within his own thought, feeling, and conduct. It is true that each

generation has a right to reap from the victories of past generations as these have been molded into the fixed forms of social behavior. Each person gathers in from the spiritual successes of his fellows through imitation of their ways and sharing unconsciously their tastes and ideals. These borrowed possessions will not, however, be wrought into the spiritual fiber of any child who does not try them out in the fires of his own personal experience. Royce, in the article previously quoted, gives a true analysis of this fact in the field of moral training:

> The condition for the appearance of the conscientious type is precisely this complex condition: on the one hand a suggested social impulse; on the other hand a private impulse at war with the first; a conscious conflict between the two impulses; a victory of the social over the antisocial self. Imitativeness without such conflict develops no conscience. . . . . No prudent guardian of a child will risk the young childish conscience by giving it unnecessarily difficult or numerous opportunities to go in this way wrong. And yet without successful feats of self-sacrifice of the sort now in general indicated, this motive of conscience never grows and conscientious ideas never get developed.

This truth, worthy of even greater emphasis in the more complex and profound life of religion, should be suggestive as weakening the tendency to inculcate into children ready-made religious conceptions and to practice the methods of the softer education that would guard children and youths from intellectual doubts and spiritual difficulties.

The third fact to mention is even more directly in line with the preceding discussion. The spiritual culture of children involves the refining and proper blending of the instincts. Religion exists as a race instinct, as a means of correcting, reshaping, and refining the other instinct tendencies. Through a refined sensitivity of feeling the religionist is able often to find his way in the search for truth and life when "the coarser tools of the intellect" would be helpless to direct him. These finer intimations of the collective mind, that this impulse needs refining, that one needs strengthening and still another needs repressing, constitute the life and message of religion. The guardian of the spiritual life of the child is to be a helper, more or less consciously, in this process. How shall he know when to stimulate and when to repress certain instincts? This is a marvelously involved question. He may assume the religious attitude himself, and depend upon a spiritual tactfulness to guide him into ways of wisdom and discretion. He may supplement his tact by a deeper insight into the meaning of religion as a world phenomenon. To use a single illustration, if it should

be understood that religion exists not simply to "regulate"[4] or repress certain instincts, chiefest among them the self-regarding instincts, but also to *harmonize* the personality, which includes the refinement and proper interrelating of *all* the native endowments, many an otherwise discordant note in religion will seem harmonious. How can self-regard be at the same time a sin and a virtue? The strongest note of religion, in its ten commandments, in its prohibitions, in its precepts and anathemas, has been the suppression of selfishness. Its apparent gospel is one of humility, self-sacrifice, and self-effacement. The ascetics have made of this doctrine a creed and have claimed the great teacher as their leader. Many of the greatest spiritual teachers have held up the happiness and perfection of man now and in the future life as the chief message of religion, and have likewise claimed the Christ among their number. And rightly have they done so. Humility and meekness are no ultimate virtues. "He that humbleth himself shall be exalted." "The meek shall inherit the earth." "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." Religion is seen to be trying, not simply to be drawing lines of exclusion between this and that set of instincts, but to draw lines of demarkation between the lower and higher, the crass and spiritual expression of all the instincts.

The teacher of the child will be helped also by developing a higher tactfulness through a study of the historical development of religion. At one time the well-being of society demands the suppression of an instinct, at another age its emphasis. It may be that the asceticism of the Middle Ages had its utility in calling mankind away from luxuriousness and worldliness. It may also be that the hedonistic reaction of the Renaissance that emphasized the majesty of the individual and the virtue of happiness was likewise a wholesome reaction. In a similar way one feels the uses of the various historical reactions between rejoicing and sorrowing, fasting and feasting, authority and freedom, love and fear, phallicism and celibacy, each of which may have been an adjustment toward the higher life of humanity that only the religious impulse could bring about.

What the religious teacher shall do depends also upon the particular child and to what extent its native endowments coincide at each step in its development with that which seems normal for its age and in tune with the truth of religion.

[4] The term used by H. R. Marshall in his *Instinct and Reason.*

EXPOSITORY STUDIES IN THE OLD TESTAMENT
XI. RUTH AND SAMUEL

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RUTH'S WISE CHOICE: RUTH 1:14–22[1]

I. CRITICAL

No hint is given in the Book of Ruth of its author, and its date of composition has to be inferred from very general evidence. The Hebrew is classic and the linguistic peculiarities are so closely allied to those of certain portions in Samuel that many conjecture that the story was cast in its present mold in the exilic period, somewhere about 500 B. C. On the other hand, many find for it a later date. Its Aramaicisms, together with its theological coloring, have seemed sufficient reason to conclude that it was a polemic which took literary form in the trying days of Nehemiah and Ezra, and was a direct challenge to their exclusive-marriage régime (Ezra 9:1, 2; Neh. 10:28). No doubt, even if it were written earlier, it would be a telling argument against the Spartan principles of those two puritan reformers, and embodying, as it does, a prominent phase of the national history, it would give much comfort to those whom the great scribe found guilty of matrimonial alliance with foreigners. But aside from what theological part it may have played in the drama of history, it is a delightful pastoral idyl, which, because of its universal elements, will bear rehearsal in every age. And in its breadth of sympathy, which ignores tribal boundary lines, it is anticipatory of the Spirit of the Master who, by the side of the well, held converse with the woman of Samaria.

II. EXPOSITION

The book gives a delightful narrative of early times in Israel, throwing a flood of light on conditions and customs. "The days of the Judges" (1:1) is the time in which the events took place. It was the period of transition from nomadic to agricultural life. As yet the restrictions and refinements of civilization were few. The life was simple and wholesome. Harvesting was carried on with primitive implements. Men and maidens worked cheerfully together in the fields. The master was acquainted with

[1] International Sunday-School Lesson for December 8, 1907.

and kindly interested in all his servants and followers. He detects the stranger and inquires after her. All join in the plain yet abundant meal, and are much like a well-ordered family in which the master is but the patriarch, with kindly concern and loving benediction for all the household. The hospitality of the open-hearted nomad has become the agricultural courtesy of gleaning. The hearty merriment of the threshing-floor pertains to that state in life, which, ignorant of a surfeit of riches, rejoices in a wholesome sufficiency. The rights and obligations of the kinsman, the judgment delivered in the gate before the Elders, the removal of the shoe in token of waiving of personal privilege and responsibility, all speak eloquently of tribal customs which became largely a matter of history when Israel emerged into nationhood.

From this story there has been selected for our lesson a passage of rare beauty and special religious significance. There can scarcely be any condemnation suggested in that Orpha remained with her own people. The logic of her mother-in-law was to her conclusive, and the ties with her own kindred were honorable and not to be despised. So her home-returning in no wise savors of unworthiness.

On the other hand, the story has enshrined in the world's memory the name and affection of Ruth. Ruth and Naomi have become names of almost equal significance to those of David and Jonathan. Ruth's answer to her mother (vss. 16, 17) is a classic in the language. Its first element is a tender and undying affection for the older woman. In fact, this love is the sole motive assigned for her cleaving to Naomi. It is such as to brook no separation from the object of its choice and will unflinchingly bear whatever may be the pain of the consequences. Kinsmen, land, and old religion are left behind, and, prompted by this undying attachment, she willingly faces a new land with strange people and new religious customs. In those days tribal conditions were not sufficiently outgrown for the mass of the people to make religion a matter of individual choice. Moab worshiped Chemosh as the tribal deity, while Jehovah was the god of Israel. Thus to conform to the religious customs of the people would be only the natural thing for one coming into the bounds of Judah. Ruth no doubt had already learned much about Jehovah-worship from Naomi, and that at this time it may in many respects have been similar to that of her own people, is suggested by the close racial connection between Israel and Moab, as well as the near proximity of their territory and their constant intercourse one with the other. Her determination, however, as in many similar cases, brought with it more than she could have possibly realized. It brought her into touch with a religion, which already

was in germ, and ultimately became far different from that of her forefathers. Already the leaven of the ethical element, which distinguished the religion of Jehovah from that of its neighbors, was at work. And she and her descendants became worshipers of the true and living God. And again through her marriage, which seemed a far call to the lone widow, she became the ancestress of the great king of Israel and thus the lineage of the Messiah runs back to this faithful Moabitess maiden.

III. APPLICATION

1. *Home associations throw their influences over the whole life.* Not only the physical, mental, and social receive their impress there but the religious as well. The influence of Naomi reaches its sublimest point when we contemplate the result of Ruth's choice in its religious aspect.

2. *A single choice is often followed by the most far-reaching consequences.* One decision may seem insignificant in the myriad complexities of life, yet such may be the parting of the ways. There is usually more resulting from a choice than appears on the face of it.

3. *The noblest affections and deepest convictions, when followed, will always lead to richer experiences and clearer views of truth.* Ruth was not disobedient to the call of her truest self, and she was rewarded by an enviable place among "the elect people." The lines,

> To thine own self be true,
> And it must follow as the night the day
> Thou can'st not then be false to any man,

tell but half the truth. Surely such a principle, taken in its highest sense, not only hinders the false, but promotes the good, and ultimately leads us, like Ruth, into the very family of God.

The Boy Samuel: I Sam. 3:1–21[2]

I. CRITICAL

Originally I Samuel, II Samuel, I Kings, and II Kings constituted one book, in the Septuagint called "Books of Kingdoms," and in the Hebrew were rightly placed among the prophets. They are essentially prophetic. They have the religious view-point of these men and are interested in the historical only as it illustrates their principles. Hence we find expanded sermons (cf. I Sam. 2:27–36; 12:1–18; etc.), religious functions and institutions looming up large, and prophetic characters as Samuel, Elijah, and Elisha receiving much attention while purely political movements and important kings receive but passing notice.

[2] International Sunday-School Lesson for December 15, 1907.

The book in which the two concluding lessons of the year are found takes its name from the chief actor. The author is unknown. In fact, somewhat the same process of editing took place as in the Hexateuch, though with fewer component parts and evidently with less care. Some of the chief features of the J and E documents, respectively, are to be detected. Perhaps it is more than mere conjecture, however, that conceives that behind these documents there lie earlier writings. There may have been memoirs of these times, left either by the chief actors or by contemporaries, which formed the basis of the later literature. In I Sam. 10:25 it is reported that our prophet wrote the manner of the kingdom in a book, and we would not be surprised if the reference to the chronicles of Samuel the seer in I Chron. 29:29 carried a tradition based on fact. The great prophet may have left memoirs of the facts of his day.

Our lesson, I Sam. 3:1–21, has its affinities chiefly with the Ephraimitic document. This is seen especially in the dream and the double call. It is further colored by eighth-century prophetic ideas. Thus the prophet is conceived of as the vice-gerent of God. A textual corruption admittedly due to scribal prejudice is found in vs. 13. The Greek rendering most likely contains the original. Instead of "his sons did bring a curse upon themselves," read "his sons were blaspheming God."

II. EXPOSITORY

Samuel is one of the few cases in Old Testament history, in the account of whose birth tradition introduces the miraculous element. Of most characters, Jacob, Moses, and Samuel forming the chief exceptions, little or nothing is known of their early days. We find that those cases, of whom it is recorded that there was a supernatural intervention in the course of nature, generally belonged to the earliest days of history. The simple story of birth and dedication, which belongs to the latest strand of the narrative, is the fitting introduction to a life, which in the eyes of tradition loomed up, not only as a bridge between the chaotic days of the judges and the more united front of the kings, but even as the crowner of kings and the overthrower of dynasties. He is portrayed as from his earliest days in line with the duties and dignities of his high office. Hence not only do we find him at an early age ministering before Jehovah, but while yet merely a child (Jewish tradition says twelve years of age), he receives a revelation from Jehovah and is thus called to be a prophet.

In the ordinary course of the lad's service, which consisted chiefly in care for the sacred vessels, he received the revelation. The word of Jehovah was rare in those days, that is, in comparison with later days—prophets

were few. The story is naïvely told. Eli, whose senses are failing through age, is lying in a tent or sleeping-apartment near by. It is some time before dawn, perhaps in the dimness of the morning, for the night lamp is not extinguished (cf. Exod. 27:10, 21; 30:7, 8; where a light is required to be kept going all night). Samuel is asleep, scarcely in the temple, but in some sleeping-place in close proximity to the sacred place and belonging to the general scheme of sanctuary structures. A voice clear and distinct breaks on his slumbering ear. Immediately responsive, he runs to Eli, who after the third visitation divines the source of the call and instructs his neophyte. Then Jehovah declares the certainty of the calamity already spoken against Eli and his house (I Sam. 2:27–35), because of the iniquity of his sons (I Sam. 2:12–17), which he but lightly rebuked (I Sam. 2:23–25) and which was unpardonable (I Sam. 3:14). Eli humbly acquiesces in the coming punishment when the boy in the morning, under constraint, tells the whole story. From this time on our prophet becomes established as priestly officer at Shiloh and his reputation as a receiver of oracles spreads throughout the land.

III. APPLICATION

The lesson and its content teem with possible application for modern life. Eli, Hophni and Phineas, and Samuel are peculiarly human and each in his own way presents a lesson to us today.

1. *Eli* is the good man who failed in his parental duties and was held accountable. He was not lacking in the gift of exhortation, but his voice was not freighted with authority. Gentle admonition is scarcely the "training" of which the sage speaks in the well-worn adage, Train up a child in the way he should go, etc. Yet, in other respects, as religious ministry and cheerful submission to the divine will, his life is most exemplary.

2. *Hophni and Phineas* are prototypes of the professional religionist, who has no personal experience of God. The goodness of the father does not insure similar virtue in the children, nor is high religious office a guarantee for high ideals. Human frailty and passion may germinate and flourish even beneath the priestly garb. And further, the result of evil is never confined to its author. Friends, neighbors, and relations all fall under the darkness of its shadow.

3. *Samuel*, the young prophet, has for us, however, the weightiest example. Youthfulness is no barrier to goodness. Careful attendance on the minor matters of service may be in the direct pathway to larger offices. The responsive heart and the open ear are always needed to

receive new revelation. Unwelcome messages must sometimes be spoken by the man of God. The true and fearless prophet cannot fail in influencing the nation at large.

SAMUEL THE UPRIGHT JUDGE: I SAM. 7:1–13[3]

I. CRITICAL

Verse 1 of the lesson belongs to the preceding chapter, as it is a continuation of that early Judean narrative of the fortunes of the ark. The conclusion of that story is nowhere found. The destruction of Shiloh (cf. Jer. 7:14), the removal of the ark, the moving of the priesthood to Nob, and the Philistines' march into the country would naturally fall in place here. But unfortunately it is wanting. Perhaps the unfavorable story was dropped from the tradition by the editor in order to give place to the more appreciated story of Samuel's victory over the Philistines, and his place of high honor in the nation. Vss. 3–17 belong to the latest strata of E. Here Samuel is seen in a new light, that of Judge, and plays a new rôle, that of general. The statements that "the Philistines were subdued and came no more within the border of Israel" (vs. 13), and "the cities which the Philistines had taken from Israel were restored to Israel, from Ekron even unto Gath" (vs. 14), scarcely correspond with history as recorded in chaps. 13 and 14 (cf. 13:4). Certain significant features are similar in both stories. The Hebrews are afraid (cf. 7:7 and 13:6, 7); a preparatory sacrifice is made (cf. 7:9 and 13:9); victory is assisted by divine interposition (cf. 7:10 and 14:15); a confused rout of Philistines is vigorously pursued by the Israelites (cf. 7:11 and 14:30). It is true that in the two narratives there is a difference in respect to places and hero, but the similarities as well as the lack of historicity in 7:13, 14, at least raise the question, whether in 7:3–14 we have not the Ephraimitic tradition of a struggle in which their own hero has been glorified, while they have permitted certain of the important actors in the scene to pass unnoticed. Chaps. 13 and 14 would on this theory be the Judean tradition of the same engagement.

II. EXPOSITORY

Putting away foreign gods—the Baalim are evidently referred to (vs. 4), which was the burden of the message of Elijah and the prophets immediately succeeding him—and turning to Jehovah, was the prelude in the writer's mind to the victory over the foe. Jehovah must be thoroughly appeased. A religious assembly was called at Mizpah. A primitive and somewhat obscure ceremony was observed. The pouring-out of water,

[3] International Sunday-School Lesson for December 22, 1907.

which in nomadic days was the all-important factor in life, can scarcely be regarded as a gift to deity. It belongs rather to sympathetic magic, in which, by imitation of nature, a certain result, rain in this case, may be induced. Similar practices are common among many untutored peoples. Even in later Judaism the pouring of water from the pool of Siloam on the altar, during the feast of tabernacles, was interpreted by the rabbis as a means of securing fertilizing rains the following season. Here the significance is not very certain. Was it a charm which induced the ensuing thunder storm (vs. 10)? However, there is no doubt that it was a sincere effort to enlist the divine sympathy and assistance on their behalf. The fasting is more easily understood. Originally probably, and later, as in all asceticism certainly, fasting was related to a physical conception of holiness. Here, however, it is a sign of sorrow for sin, and is an evidence of humiliation on the part of the people. A verbal confession of guilt is its accompaniment.

The report of this concourse is the signal for the array and march of the Philistine army. Fear spreads in the ranks of Israel. Renewed supplication (vs. 8) and a burnt-offering (vs. 9) secure the desired favor from Jehovah. The engagement takes place and religiously the result is ascribed to the wonder-working of their God (vs. 10). Of the manner of this divine assistance there is no elaboration. May the brief statement indicate the work of natural phenomena, as does a more extended narrative of an earlier battle (cf. Judges 5:4, 5, 20, 21)? The human factor in the battle rallied when they saw the foe in confusion and drove them in utter rout a long distance from the field of conflict. If chaps. 13 and 14 describe the same victory, the flight and pursuit is there given in much more vivid detail (cf. 14:20–23).

A memorial stone was set up at Ebenezer (stone of help), which, though here spoken of as if named to commemorate this victory, is in 4:1 and 5:1 the scene of a much earlier defeat. It is chronicled that this concluded the wars with the old enemy and restored much lost territory (vss. 13 and 14). This was realized only when the strong hand of David held the scepter.

The last two verses of the chapter belong to the following section. Here Samuel is installed as judge. His circuit, his regular tours, and his home are indicated. This dignity and his appointment of his unworthy sons as his successors (8:1) are the introduction to the question of kingship which the historian introduces in 8:4. Samuel is here invested, under an old official title, with that authority which later prophets exercised when they stood before kings and fearlessly denounced the current evil or

boldly advised in the political policy of the nation. His judgeship is the bridge between the old régime and the new. He is honored as the anointer of Saul (I Sam. 10:1; 12:1), the herald of the fall of his dynasty (I Sam. 13:14; 15:23; 28:17), and the anointer of David (I Sam. 16: 1–13). This is emphatic testimony of the very important part which Samuel played in the formative days of Israel, and the very high regard in which he was held by the prophets of later times.

III. APPLICATION

1. *Humbleness of spirit*, here seen in the fasting and confession of sin, is always needed for the tasks which are greatest in the most spiritual sense.

2. *Waiting on God*, or practicing the presence of God, here seen in earnest supplication and burnt-offering, is a daily need, not only for the time when we face the well-equipped foe, but also when there seems a lull in the conflict and strife. This is that which leads to the mount of transfiguration.

3. *Faith in Jehovah*, which is one of the noblest messages of the Old Testament, and is here seen in Samuel, gives an optimism which fears no obstacles.

4. *Victory is always assured* to the people of God. While sometimes the opposition is long lived, as were the Philistines, and for each battle the soldier must be prepared, every milestone may be a memorial on which we write Ebenezer, and finally it may be said, "The Philistines were subdued and came no more within the border of Israel."

Current Opinion

Who Is the Christian's God?

James Collier is one of those who assisted Herbert Spencer in preparing his *Descriptive Sociology*. While engaged in that work he became impressed with the fact that throughout the Middle Ages the real God whom the Christians worshiped was Christ, rather than the first person of the Trinity. In the July number of the *Hibbert Journal* Mr. Collier elaborates this thesis, tracing it through the great literature of Christianity. Almost without exception he finds that the really effective God is Christ. So in Paul and the church fathers, mediaeval Christian poets, the great theologians of the Roman church, and even many of the modern theologians. Augustine almost alone seems not to leave God the Father in the background and make Christ supreme. But this God of Christianity is not merely the Jesus of the synoptists. He is the risen Christ of Paul—to which fact Mr. Collier incidentally gives a Positivist turn by declaring that it is the spirit of man himself that is worshiped.

Mr. Collier has undoubtedly called attention to a real and important fact of Christian history. He might even have gone one step farther. For Dr. A. H. Strong in the preface of his recently published revision of his *Systematic Theology* declares that no one is entitled to the name of Christian who does not properly conceive of Christ—i. e., as one to whom prayers are to be addressed, who was and is omnipresent, omniscient, and omnipotent.

But there is a fair question as to Mr. Collier's treatment of Paul, for he has quite neglected the apostle's teaching as to the temporary character of the work of Christ, as preparatory to the time when God shall be all and in all.

And there is another consideration. A really careful study of the history of doctrine will show that while the church has steadily tended to erect Jesus into the position of the God who saves, at the same time there has been another strong tendency to conceive of God as the Absolute, increasingly out of touch with humanity. The Christ-God has been the center of soteriological thought, while the Absolute God is the center of theological thought. That is to say, Christ has been regarded as God "for practical purposes." The modern tendency to emphasize immanence is apparently a resultant of these two tendencies. The God resident in

humanity has been given the human qualities revealed in Christ. While the tendency which Mr. Collier has described was always in danger of running into ditheism, this newer conception of a God whose character is like Jesus, actually immanent in the world, avoids this danger and helps us to unify both our philosophical and our practical religious concepts.

The Original Ending of Mark's Gospel

An elaborate article in the *Theologische Studien und Kritiken* for July, 1907, by Hans Schmidt, of Breslau, considers the interesting and much-discussed question as to how Mark's Gospel originally closed. Schmidt thinks it certain that the gospel could not have ended where it now does at 16:8, and that what we know as 16:9–20 is a portion of some other primitive gospel which was used to piece out Mark's Gospel after its original ending had been lost. He then seeks to reconstruct the original ending by a careful comparison of the gospels of Matthew, Luke, and John, of Paul in I Corinthians 15:5–8, and of the account contained in the pseudonymous gospel of Peter. He concludes that the original close of Mark's Gospel began with a brief mention of the despair of the apostles, their return from Jerusalem to their home in Galilee, an appearance of Jesus to Peter while he was fishing on the Sea of Galilee, and lastly a second appearance to the twelve disciples, probably by the sea. Of the contents of this ending he feels considerable certainty; the wording of it is less certain, but is derived chiefly from the Gospel of John and the Gospel of Peter. We give the text reconstructed by Schmidt, and for the convenience of the reader an English translation of the text.

[Mk. 16:8, καὶ ἐξελθοῦσαι ἔφυγον ἀπὸ τοῦ μνημείου, εἶχεν γὰρ αὐτὰς τρόμος καὶ ἔκστασις· καὶ οὐδενὶ οὐδὲν εἶπαν, ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ·] γενομένης δὲ τῆς τελευταίας τῶν ἀζύμων πολλοί τινες ἐξήρχοντο ὑποστρέφοντες εἰς τοὺς οἴκους αὐτῶν τῆς ἑορτῆς παυσαμένης. Οἱ δὲ δώδεκα μαθηταὶ τοῦ κυρίου ἔκλαιον καὶ ἐλυποῦντο καὶ ἕκαστος λυπούμενος διὰ τὸ συμβὰν ἀπηλλάγη εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ. ἦσαν ὁμοῦ Σίμων Πέτρος καὶ Ἀνδρέας ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ Λευεὶς ὁ τοῦ Ἀλφαίου, ὃν κύριος ἀπὸ τοῦ τελωνίου ἐκάλεσεν καὶ οἱ τοῦ Ζεβεδαίου καὶ ἄλλοι ἐκ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ δύο.[1] λέγει αὐτοῖς Σίμων Πέτρος· ὑπάγω ἁλιεύειν. λέγουσιν αὐτῷ· ἐρχόμεθα καὶ ἡμεῖς σὺν σοί. λαβόντες οὖν τὰ λίνα αὐτῶν ἀπῆλθον εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ ἐνέβησαν εἰς τὸ πλοῖον, καὶ ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ νυκτὶ ἐπίασαν οὐδέν.[2] πρωΐας δὲ ἤδη γινομένης ἔστη Ἰησοῦς εἰς τὸν αἰγιαλόν. οὐ μέντοι ᾔδεισαν οἱ μαθηταὶ ὅτι Ἰησοῦς ἐστιν. Λέγει οὖν αὐτοῖς Ἰησοῦς· παιδία, μή τι προσφάγιον ἔχετε; ἀπεκρίθησαν αὐτῷ· οὔ. ὁ δὲ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· βάλετε

[1] Cf. Gosp. Pet., 12; John 21:2.

[2] Cf. Gosp. Pet., 12; John 21:3.

εἰς τὰ δεξιὰ μέρη τοῦ πλοίου τὸ δίκτυον καὶ εὑρήσετε. ἔβαλον οὖν, καὶ οὐκέτι αὐτὸ ἑλκύσαι ἴσχυον ἀπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν ἰχθύων. λέγει οὖν μαθητής τις τῷ Πέτρῳ· ὁ κύριός ἐστιν. Σίμων οὖν Πέτρος ἀκούσας ὅτι ὁ κύριός ἐστιν, τὸν ἐπενδύτην διεζώσατο, ἦν γὰρ γυμνός, καὶ ἔβαλεν ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν. οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι μαθηταὶ τῷ πλοιαρίῳ ἦλθον (οὐ γὰρ ἦσαν μακρὰν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἀλλὰ ὡς ἀπὸ πηχῶν διακοσίων), σύροντες τὸ δίκτυον τῶν ἰχθύων.[3] ἀνέβη οὖν Σίμων Πέτρος καὶ προσέπεσεν τοῖς γόνασιν Ἰησοῦ λέγων· ἔξελθε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ, ὅτι ἀνὴρ ἁμαρτωλός εἰμι, κύριε. καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς τὸν Σίμωνα ὁ Ἰησοῦς· μὴ φοβοῦ. ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν ἀνθρώπους ἔσῃ ζωγρῶν.[4] (Τοῦτο λαλήσας ἄφαντος ἐγένετο ἀπ' αὐτοῦ.)[5] Καὶ καταγάγοντες τὸ πλοῖον ἐπὶ τὴν γὴν εἵλκυσαν τὸ δίκτυον εἰς τὴν γῆν μεστὸν ἰχθύων μεγάλων.[6]

Μετὰ ταῦτα ἐφανέρωσεν ἑαυτὸν πάλιν Ἰησοῦς τοῖς μαθηταῖς ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης τῆς Τιβεριάδος. ἐφανέρωσεν δὲ οὕτως[7] ὡς (οἱ δώδεκα) ἀπέβησαν εἰς τὴν γῆν βλέπουσιν ἀνθρακιὰν κειμένην καὶ ὀψάριον ἐπικείμενον καὶ ἄρτον (καὶ εὐθὺς Ἰησοῦς ἔστη ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν). λέγει αὐτοῖς (ὁ Ἰησοῦς)· δεῦτε ἀριστήσατε· οὐδεὶς δὲ ἐτόλμα τῶν μαθητῶν ἐξετάσαι αὐτόν· σὺ τίς εἶ; εἰδότες ὅτι κύριός ἐστιν. ἔρχεται Ἰησοῦς καὶ λαμβάνει τὸν ἄρτον καὶ δίδωσιν αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸ ὀψάριον ὁμοίως. τοῦτο ἤδη τρίτον ἐφανερώθη Ἰησοῦς τοῖς μαθηταῖς ἐγερθεὶς ἐκ νεκρῶν.[8]

[Mark 16:8. And going forth they fled from the tomb, for fear and astonishment held them, and they told nothing to anyone for they were afraid.] And when it was the end of the days of unleavened bread many went away returning to their homes, for the feast was ended. But the twelve disciples of the Lord wept and mourned, and each one grieving on account of what had happened departed to his own home. There were together Simon Peter, and Andrew his brother, and Levi the son of Alphaeus whom the Lord called from the seat of toll, and the sons of Zebedee, and two others of his disciples. Simon Peter said to them, I go a fishing. They said to him, We also will go with thee. Taking, therefore, their nets they went away to the sea and entered into a boat, and that night they caught nothing. But when it was now early Jesus stood upon the shore. The disciples, however, did not know that it was Jesus. Jesus therefore said to them, Children, have ye anything to eat? They answered him, No. But he said to them, Cast your net upon the right side of the ship and you will find [fish]. They therefore cast their net and they were not able to draw it in on account of the multitude of fishes. Therefore a certain disciple said to Peter, It is the Lord. Simon Peter then, hearing that it was the Lord, girt his garment about him, for he was naked, and cast himself into the sea. But the other disciples came with the boat (for they were not far from the land, only about two hundred cubits), drawing the net of fish. Therefore Simon Peter came and prostrated himself

[3] Cf. John 21:4–8.
[4] Cf. Luke 5:8, 10[b].
[5] Cf. Luke 24:31[b].
[6] Cf. John 21:11.
[7] Cf. John 21:1.
[8] Cf. John 21:9, 12–14.

before Jesus saying, Depart from me because I am a sinful man, O Lord. And Jesus said to Simon, Fear not. From now on you shall be a fisher of men. (Saying this, he was no longer seen by him.) And bringing the ship to the land, they dragged the net full of fish up onto the shore.

After these things Jesus manifested himself again to the disciples at the Sea of Tiberias, and he manifested himself thus: When (the twelve) came to the land they saw a fire of coals made and fish thereupon and bread (and straightway Jesus stood in their midst). (Jesus) said to them, Come, eat. But no one of his disciples dared to ask him, Who art thou? for they knew that it was the Lord. Jesus came and took the bread and gave to them, and the fish likewise. This was now the third time that Jesus manifested himself to his disciples after he had been raised from the dead.

Can We Restore Matthew's Logia?

A most interesting attempt has this year been made by Professor Harnack, in his *Sprüche und Reden Jesu*, to reconstruct the original Matthew document referred to in the Papias tradition, and commonly called the Logia. He regards this document as "a collection of discourses and sayings of Jesus, not arranged so as to lead up to the Passion, but having almost exclusively a Galilean horizon; a document free from special bias, whether apologetic, doctrinal, political, national, or anti-national" (p. 121). "That therefore which in the Synoptic Gospels, following the pattern set by Mark, is the principal thing—viz., the preparation for the Passion, the discourses which have the Passion for their theme, and finally the story of the Passion itself—all this so far as we can judge is entirely wanting in the Logia. In this lies the fundamental difference between the gospels and the Logia; it is not a gospel at all" (p. 120).

The contents of the Logia then are as follows, according to Harnack: It begins with the preaching of John, describes the baptism of Jesus and his temptation, then gives large portions of the Sermon on the Mount, then the stories of the centurion's servant, the missionary discourses to the disciples, the discourses about the Baptist and about Chorazin, the saying "I thank thee, Father," the discourses about Beelzebul and about Jonah, the woes upon the Pharisees, the warning about false Messiahs and about the coming of the Son of man as a thief in the night, and finally the sayings "He that hath, to him shall be given," and that the disciples shall rule the twelve tribes of Israel (p. 126).

Professor F. C. Burkitt, of Cambridge University, author of the recent fine work entitled *The Gospel History and Its Transmission*, referring to Harnack's monograph in the *Journal of Theological Studies* for April, criticizes Harnack's reconstruction. He says:

I venture to think there is a deep seated defect in Professor Harnack's method, and further that his restoration of the Logia is imperfect because he has attempted a task for which sufficient materials do not survive. . . . . I cannot help wondering whether this venerable document may not have lost some of its more individual property in the process of reconstruction. First it was taken to pieces by Matthew and Luke, and now it has been put together again by Dr. Harnack. I find it very difficult to believe that it is all there, or even that enough is there to enable us to judge it as a literary whole. I have convinced myself that the Logia is a real "gospel," and that it contained a story of the Passion, and I still cling to my prejudices even after reading Harnack's arguments on the other side.

Is the Epistle to the Galatians the Earliest New Testament Book?

Several scholars have recently maintained that Paul's letter to the Galatians was the earliest to be written of all the New Testament writings. A little monograph, entitled *The Date of St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians*, by Douglas Round (Cambridge University Press, 1906), is one of the recent contributions in support of this theory. Mr. Round works upon the basis of Ramsay's reconstruction of the Acts' history at this point, except that he departs from Ramsay's view regarding the date of the Galatian epistle. Round's view is that Paul wrote his letter to the Galatians at the close of his first missionary journey, in the year 49–50 A. D.

Upon the return of St. Paul and St. Barnabas to Antioch, we are told by St. Luke that "they tarried no little time with the disciples." Immediately afterwards is recorded the further fact that certain men having come down from Judaea were teaching the brethren, saying, "Except ye be circumcised after the manner of Moses ye cannot be saved." The hypothesis, then, which I hope to make good as a possible hypothesis, is that these men from Judaea had also sent on emissaries to the Galatian churches with the same teaching, and that such emissaries had been so far successful that a messenger from those churches reached St. Paul at Antioch with the sorrowful tidings that his Gentile converts in the churches of Galatia "were removing from him . . . . unto a different gospel;" and that in consequence St. Paul at once wrote and sent to those churches the epistle which we are considering.

According to this view the conference between Paul and the "pillar apostles" described in Gal. 2:1–10 was a private conference held at the time of the visit mentioned in Acts 11:30, and the collision between Paul and Peter at Antioch (Gal. 2:11 ff.) followed soon upon Paul's return from the visit to Jerusalem mentioned in Acts 11:30. Then followed Paul's first missionary journey, then Paul's return to Antioch where he found that the Judaizers were at work among his Galatian churches, and he at once wrote his letter to nullify their influence. Then followed the conference at Jerusalem in 50 A. D. narrated in Acts 15:1 ff.

Mr. Round claims for this hypothesis the following advantages: (1) No visit of St. Paul to Jerusalem, nor anything vital to the question at issue, is omitted or suppressed; (2) the most forcible arguments that could be used at the time are used; (3) there is no inconsistency with the Acts of the Apostles; (4) every phrase which has any relation to or bearing on the question of the date is simply and naturally explained; (5) the authority of the Council at Jerusalem and of the Decree made by that Council remain unimpaired; (6) the epistle must have been written from Antioch or its neighborhood; (7) the churches of Galatia, to whom the epistle was addressed, must have been those of Pisidian Antioch, Iconium, Lystra, and Derbe; (8) the epistle is probably the earliest book in the New Testament.

There are many things to be said in defense of the commonly accepted interpretation of this portion of history of the Apostolic Age, and in opposition to this theory proposed by Mr. Round. But the problem is an open one, and Mr. Round's arguments deserve consideration.

Among the many new courses of modern Bible study that are constantly appearing from the press, one of special excellence is that by Professor W. J. Mutch, now of Ripon College, Wisconsin, upon, "Samuel, Saul, and David." The material is arranged in thirty sections, or studies, to occupy about one year of work. The entire material of the books of Samuel is included in the course. The method is a combination of paragraphs of useful information, with questions for study and for thought. The paragraphs are numbered for convenience of reference, 211 in all, covering 144 pages of printed material, with very wide margins for pupils' notes. The point of view of the course and the principles of historical interpretation pursued by Professor Mutch are those which commend themselves to the best scholars. The studies would serve as a capital guide to a year's thorough and careful research in the history of this towering trio of Old Testament heroes, Samuel, Saul, and David.

Work and Workers

Rev. Stewart L. Tyson, of Keble College, Oxford, has become professor of New Testament literature in the Western Theological Seminary, Chicago.

Rev. Elihu Grant, Ph.D., has been elected associate professor of the English Bible in Smith College.

The Young Men's Christian Association reports some interesting statistics as to systematic voluntary Bible-study in American colleges, for the college year 1906–07: 595 institutions report 34,494 men in Bible classes; 126 institutions report 142 normal-training classes for Bible-class leaders; 126 institutions report 251 Bible Institutes; 40,415 copies of Bible-study books were purchased; 254 Bible reference-libraries were reported.

The American Baptist Publication Society announces the organization under its auspices, of the National Teacher-Training Institute, with Rev. H. T. Musselman as superintendent. The Institute announces five courses of study—the regular teacher-training course, the regular officer-training course, the primary-training course, graduate courses and reading courses for teachers and workers. These are to be pursued in connection with teachers' meetings, and teachers' classes in Sunday school, through correspondence, and in other ways. Suitable textbooks will be prepared for courses where necessary, and in general a systematic effort is to be made to better Sunday-school instruction under Baptist auspices.

A new lexicon of New Testament Greek is announced as in preparation by Professor Adolf Deissmann, of Heidelberg, well known for his researches in the lexicography of Greek papyri.

The preparation of a lexicon of patristic Greek has been undertaken by the Central Society of Sacred Study under the direction of Professor Swete, of Cambridge. Dr. Henry Redpath, of London, is to be editor of the lexicon, which promises to fill a want long felt by patristic students.

The American Institute of Sacred Literature

NEW COURSES OF STUDY FOR MINISTERS AND LAYMEN

The subject of missions becomes each year more pressing in its claims upon the attention of the Christian minister. As foreign countries become more accessible and foreign people more friendly toward western civilization, the old problems in missionary work change their character, but become even more urgent for solution than before. Educational activities in the far East have developed a new understanding of so-called "heathen peoples" and a new spirit in missions, demanding new methods and new knowledge.

With a view to assisting ministers and laymen to acquaint themselves with these situations and problems, the Institute has prepared a reading course on Modern Missions. The books are among the most valuable and readable of those recently published, and with them are furnished written reviews of them and practical topics for discussion. These reviews and topics are prepared by Dr. A. K. Parker, Professorial Lecturer on Modern Missions in the Divinity School of the University of Chicago. Fuller information will be furnished on application to the Institute.

This course or the course arranged last year by Professor Gerald B. Smith upon *Modern Phases of Theological Thought* would form an admirable basis for the work of a minister's club. A number of clubs and associations have already found the latter course of great interest.

Although the books of this course were selected with the minister in mind, women's missionary societies could hardly find a better programme for their winter's work than the reading of this list of books under the guidance of the Institute, and the discussion at their missionary meetings of the topics suggested in the reviews.

The material of either course may be secured by a subscription to the *Biblical World* made through the office of the Institute or the payment of one dollar as a membership fee.

A serious problem confronts the minister who wishes to conduct the most profitable Bible study among his people, namely, the choice between courses of study which will give his classes a knowledge of the facts of the history and biography contained in the Bible, and courses which will more directly add to the efficiency of his people as practical Christians, and will develop a deeper and more spiritual religious life. Undoubtedly neither of these two classes of work is exclusive of the other. A good course in

either field will produce results in both, but there are times and circumstances in which one or the other needs special emphasis.

The popular courses of the Institute have for many years and with good reason, in view of the prevailing ignorance of the Bible, emphasized the historical study of the Bible. Two new courses of unusual interest, which indicate a new direction, have just been issued.

The first is a course on the *Social and Ethical Teaching of Jesus*. It appeals to all who wish to study the teaching of Jesus in its relation to modern social and moral problems. The themes are as follows: (1) The sources of the teaching of Jesus; (2) The character of God as a basis of morality; (3) The highest good according to the teaching of Jesus; (4) Sin and punishment; (5) Repentance, forgiveness, and faith; (6) Brotherhood through sonship; (7) The family; (8) Wealth and the state; (9) Practical questions concerning modern life.

Each month's work is introduced by a preview and followed by topics for discussion and review questions. Some of the practical topics are as follows: An inquiry into the relation of the working classes to the church, and the church's responsibility to the working classes. What are the divorce laws of your state? What moral questions are involved in thrift, the habit of saving? What is the responsibility of the state to ex-convicts? How far does the state undertake to regulate the morals of its citizens?

The study of this course by groups of men, young or old, would lead to a more intelligent handling of problems connected with civic, political, and social life and an increase in the influence of the church in the modern world. The lack of courses appealing expressly to men has been great.

The second new course, *The Universal Element in the Psalter*, is intended to be of special assistance in fostering the distinctively religious spirit. Its topics suggest the inspiration which comes from studying the deep religious experience of others. They are (1) The cry of the psalmist; (2) The trial and triumph of faith; (3) Longing for communion with God; (4) Songs of assurance and hope; (5) Songs of praise.

This is a course which will supply a need which has existed for Bible study, which, while based upon scholarly work, is at the same time such as to provide food for meditation and deeper Christian experience.

In order to make it possible for a pastor to conduct and to keep a record of the Bible study of many individuals in his congregation, without necessarily forming a class, the Institute has arranged a very convenient form of report which can be dropped into a receptacle at the church at the Sunday service and recorded at a convenient time by the pastor or an assistant.

The Institute may be addressed at the University of Chicago.

Book Reviews

The Student's Old Testament. Israel's Laws and Legal Precedents from the Days of Moses to the Closing of the Legal Canon. By Charles Foster Kent, Ph.D. With Plans and Diagrams. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1907. Pp. 301. $2.75 net.

Perhaps the greatest practical result of the critical movement upon the field of Old Testament study has been the discovery of the importance of the prophetic element. This is the center and soul of the Old Testament. Yet the attention which has been devoted to it has had the effect of thrusting the legal books too far into the background, and of giving them less than their due. For two reasons they are important—for their interest in worship and in civic righteousness; and this very careful volume of Professor Kent's ought to do much to revive interest in these too much neglected books of the Old Testament.

The neglect is not hard to understand. As soon as the typological method of interpretation was felt to be ineffective, it then seemed as if those books had nothing to offer but obsolete laws of life and irrelevant regulations of worship. But apart from that, the relative confusion in which the legal parts of the Old Testament have come down to us, more than half excused their neglect. Now all that is changed. The strata of Hebrew law have been sifted and its development traced by many scholars; but here for the first time, all that is made as plain as day for the English reader. Professor Kent has done for the laws what he did many years ago for the Proverbs—gathered together passages which belong together, and which deal with the same or similar themes. In this way he enables us to see at a glance the growth of Hebrew opinion on questions, for example, of marriage, slavery, etc. In this way, too, we can see at a glance the enormous difference between the pre-exilic and the post-exilic conception of the tent of meeting. To the elaborate description of the latter, "in the past more attention has been devoted than it really deserves—often to the neglect of noble ethical laws, which possess a permanent value" (p. 152).

The main body of the book consists of a translation of all the legal literature (including the relevant sections of Ezekiel), conveniently arranged under captions—Personal and Family Laws, Constitutional Laws, Criminal Laws, Humane Laws, Laws Defining Obligations to Jehovah, and Ceremonial Laws; these divisions being further subdivided—the Criminal

Laws, for example, into crimes against Jehovah, against the state, against morality and decency, against the person, against property. Cognate laws are so arranged that their development may be readily traced. The introduction discusses the history of Israel's laws under six heads—their Babylonian background, their origin and growth, the primitive Hebrew codes, the Deuteronomic codes, Ezekiel and the Holiness code, and the priestly codes.

The profound influence of the Code of Hammurabi is acknowledged (cf. p. 24), but it is equally maintained that, speaking generally, the spirit and purpose of Hebrew law have no ancient parallel. Some of the more important conclusions may here be mentioned. The early decalogue in Exod., chap. 34, cannot, as a whole, be earlier than the days of the united kingdom; possibly it was put in written form during the reign of Solomon and in connection with the Jerusalem temple. Against the scholars who maintain that the stones were simply a symbol of primitive worship, Professor Kent believes that they were really inscribed with a decalogue. The great decalogue in Exod., chap. 20, Deut., chap. 5, is assigned, on the strength of its ethical and prophetic spirit, to a period not earlier than the latter part of the eighth century; though the important concession is made that, "with the exception of the second, and possibly the tenth command, there is nothing in it fundamentally inconsistent with the conclusion that it came, in its original and simplest form, from Moses himself."

The original edition of Deuteronomy seems to Professor Kent to have been completed somewhere between the beginning of Josiah's reign in 639 and the great reform in 621 B. C., rather than in Manasseh's reign. But if the book were written in Josiah's reign, it is more difficult to see how it could have disappeared; its disappearance in the persecuting times of Manasseh seems, on the whole, more intelligible and probable. Deuteronomy is regarded as a collection of minor codes. The original draft of the Law of Holiness (Lev., chaps. 17–26) is placed between the first and final captivity (597–586 B. C.). The priestly laws, though they constitute a real unity, come not from one but several hands; and in their composite form they cannot be later than 250 B. C.

Professor Kent draws a careful distinction between the time when a law was in force and the time when it was reduced to writing—the former may have been ages before the latter. He thus acknowledges an abundant amount of very ancient material in Israel's laws, and his conclusions ought to be welcome to those who fear that criticism is robbing the ancient history of its truth and Moses of his glory. "It may truly be said that the later Jewish traditions which aim to emphasize the antiquity of Israel's

laws are not without a large and substantial basis in fact." The roots of the Law of Holiness, for example, "are probably to be traced to the Mosaic and nomadic periods of Israelitish history," and many of the laws "reflect customs as old as the Hebrew race" (pp. 41 f.). Of the laws of Exod., chaps. 20–23, "many of them may come from Moses," and "there was probably a primitive oral decalogue, which came, as the tradition asserts, directly from Moses."

The volume does not profess to be a commentary, yet in the footnotes to the translation there is scattered a large amount of valuable information relative to ancient Hebrew society and every opportunity is taken to illustrate or contrast the Hebrew codes of law with that of Hammurabi. By the aid of this volume, the study of the legal books of the Old Testament is made lucid and interesting; and despite much that is temporary and outgrown, we may yet speak with justice, as Professor Kent does in his Preface, of "the permanent value of the Old Testament legal literature."

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A Short History of the Baptists. By HENRY VEDDER. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1907. Pp. 431. $1.50.

Sixteen years ago Professor Vedder's *Short History of the Baptists* appeared in a small volume of 245 pages. It at once took the leading place among Baptist general histories. But the edition has long been exhausted. The author has, however, during these years continued a diligent student. His range of information has enlarged; he has even more fully caught the spirit of scientific historical investigation; he has visited most, if not all, the places of chief interest; and had access to all the available sources of information. As professor of church history he has had opportunity to devote his time to the investigation and solution of historical problems. Out of this enriched and enlarged experience he brings a new edition of the short history, more than twice as extensive, for the most part rewritten, containing forty-five illustrations, and done in strict conformity to the rules of scientific historical composition. He accordingly does not find Baptist churches farther back than 1611. But he makes it clear that we do not at all depend for our right to exist upon any theory of historical succession. He believes that the New Testament is our guide. But the great question for us is whether we now have New Testament churches. It matters not in the least whether or no we can

trace a line of unbroken succession from New Testament times to our own times. That "should appear nothing more than an interesting study."

While he begins with the history and constitution of the New Testament churches he shows that almost immediately perversions and corruptions crept in, the churches began to depart from the standards, the struggle for a pure church began, but at last evangelical Christianity was eclipsed. There began foregleams of the dawn, shining forth in such heroes as Arnold of Brescia, Peter of Bruis, Waldo, Savonarola, and Hus. The great struggle was to get back to first principles, and as a part of this struggle during the Reformation such Anabaptists as Hühmaier appeared.

The book will, we think, prove exactly to meet our need of a general history of the Baptists, reliable, touching the leading features, introducing us to the eminent men, impressing us with what our liberties have cost in suffering, and in treasure; and with the conspicuous place Baptists hold in the struggle for religious liberty.

It will also, we believe, prove to be a very interesting and essential chapter in general church history, and so valuable to other communions.

J. W. MONCRIEF

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

The Knowledge of God. By HENRY MELVILL GWATKIN. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1906. New York: imported by Scribner's. Two vols. Pp. x + 308 and 334. $3.75 net.

These volumes contain the substance of the Gifford lectures for 1904 and 1905, and are of especial interest because they are the work of a historian rather than of a theologian or a philosopher. As Professor James attempted to show the nature of religious life from the point of view of psychology, so Professor Gwatkin exhibits the various conceptions of God in the history of the western world in their relations to social, political, and cultural environment. It is interesting to find that history, like psychology, cannot find any rigid dividing line between natural and so-called supernatural religion. Thus, although the Gifford foundation distinctly excludes arguments based on miraculous revelation, a study of concrete religious convictions makes inevitable reference to the supernatural form which beliefs take in the minds of men. For history as for psychology all types of belief are material for scientific investigtaion.

The work consists of two volumes. In the first, the a-priori question of the possibility of revelation is discussed and the question asked, what kind of a revelation is inherently possible? Professor Gwatkin holds that theism is the most satisfactory explanation of reality. But a personal God may be

expected to manifest himself in personal ways. Revelation is thus a priori probable. Thus far the argument coincides with that of traditional orthodoxy. But Professor Gwatkin does not find revelation in an authoritative book. It is rather the obverse side of human discovery. The revelation of God is thus practically identical with the development of man's ideas concerning God. "We must get our knowledge of Him (God) in much the same way as we get our knowledge of men. We see their outward forms, but we no more see them than we see God. Yet we see their actions, and if we care to reason on them we can draw conclusions" (p. 160, Vol. I).

The historical development of the knowledge of God is traced through primitive religion, Greek thought, biblical and Christian theology, with four chapters devoted to modern thought. The ordinary reader will often be somewhat bewildered by the mass of historical material brought into brief compass. Moreover, throughout the work, the author stops to answer so fully the supposed objections of those who differ from him that one is frequently more impressed by the wealth of possible opinions than by the author's own position. He accepts the methods of higher criticism in its more conservative aspects. But in the realm of the New Testament he is still controlled by a dogmatic interest. He insists that if the records be historically authentic, we are compelled to affirm the metaphysical deity of Christ. It is either this, or the abandonment of any attempt to make anything but a group of aesthetic legends of them. "True or false is a fair issue." While vigorously rejecting the authority-idea, he, nevertheless, takes a conservative view of Christianity, which naturally goes with the authority-idea. His work will be full of suggestion to historical students; but because of its objective point of view, it is primarily a book of description, rather than one of interpretation. So far as the practical problem of the validity of the idea of God is concerned, it leaves the reader just where it found him. The historian cannot solve the ultimate problems of religion.

GERALD BIRNEY SMITH

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Books for Old Testament Study

JOHN MERLIN POWIS SMITH, PH.D.
The University of Chicago

3. OLD TESTAMENT PROPHECY

Harper, W. R. The Prophetic Element in the Old Testament. An Aid to Historical Study for Use in Advanced Bible Classes. [*Constructive Bible Studies: College Series*]. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1905. Pp. vii+142. $1.

Batten, L. W. The Hebrew Prophet. New York: Macmillan, 1905. Pp. x+351. $1.50.

Beecher, W. J. The Prophets and the Promise [*The Stone Lectures for 1902–3*]. New York: T. Y. Crowell & Co., 1905. Pp. 427. $2.

Findlay, G. G. The Books of the Prophets in Their Historical Succession. Vol. I, To the Fall of Samaria. Vol. II, The First Isaiah to Nahum. Vol. III, Jeremiah and His Group. London: C. H. Kelly, 1896–1907. Pp. xli+744. 2*s.* 6*d.* per vol.

Cornill, C. H. The Prophets of Israel. Chicago: Open Court Publishing Co., 1901. Pp. xiv+194. $1.

Kirkpatrick, A. F. The Doctrine of the Prophets. [*The Warburtonian Lectures for 1886–1890*]. London and New York: Macmillan, 1892. Pp. xix+544. 6*s.*

Smith, W. R. The Prophets of Israel and Their Place in History, to the Close of the Eighth Century B. C. New Edition, with Introduction by T. K. Cheyne. London: Black, 1896. Pp. lviii+446. 10*s.* 6*d.*

Kuenen, A. The Prophets and Prophecy in Israel. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1877. Pp. lv+593.

Davidson, A. B. Old Testament Prophecy. Edited by J. A. Paterson. New York: Scribners, 1904. Pp. xi+507. $3.50.

Riehm, E. Messianic Prophecy. Its Origin, Historical Growth, and Relation to New Testament Fulfilment. 2d ed. (Translated from the German by L. A. Muirhead.) With an Introduction by Professor A. B. Davidson. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1891. Pp. xviii+348. $2.50.

Briggs, C. A. Messianic Prophecy. New York: Scribners, 1886. Pp. xx+519. $2.50.

Goodspeed, G. S. Israel's Messianic Hope to the Time of Jesus. A Study in the Historical Development of the Foreshadowings of the Christ in the Old Testament and Beyond. New York: Macmillan, 1900. Pp. xi+315. $1.50.

Woods, F. H. The Hope of Israel. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1896. Pp. viii+218. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Orelli, C. von. The Old Testament Prophecy of the Consummation of God's Kingdom. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1885. Pp. viii+472. 10*s.* 6*d.*

Edghill, E. A. An Enquiry into the Evidential Value of Prophecy. Being the Hulsean Prize Essay for 1904. With Preface by Rt. Rev. H. E. Ryle, D.D. New York: Macmillan, 1906. Pp. xxxviii+627. $2.00.

Kittel, R. Profetie und Weissagung. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1899. Pp. 25. M. 0.50.

Kraetzschmar, R. Prophet und Seher im alten Israel. Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr, 1901. Pp. v+32. M. 0.75.

Maybaum, S. Die Entwickelung des israelitischen Prophetenthums. Berlin: Dümmler, 1883. Pp. viii+162. M. 4.

Franckh. Die Prophetie in der Zeit vor Amos. Ein Versuch zur Alttestamentlichen Religionsgeschichte. [*Beiträge zur Förderung Christlicher Theologie*, IX, pp. 27–86]. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1905. M. 1.50.

Giesebrecht, F. Die Geschichtlichkeit des Sinaibundes untersucht. Königsberg i. Pr.: Thomas und Oppermann, 1900. Pp. 65. M. 1.20.

Volz, P. Die vorexilische Jahweprophetie und der Messias. In ihrem Verhältnis dargestellt. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1897. Pp. viii+93. M. 2.80.

Kleinert, P. Die Profeten Israels in sozialer Beziehung. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1905. Pp. v+168. M. 3.50.

Meinhold, J. Studien zur israelitischen Religionsgeschichte. Band I; Der heilige Rest: Theil I; Elias, Amos, Hosea, Jesaja. Bonn: Marcus und Weber, 1903. Pp. 168. M. 3.20.

Giesebrecht, F. Die Berufsbegabung der Alttestamentlichen Propheten. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1897. Pp. iv+188. M. 4.80.

König, Ed. Der Offenbarungsbegriff des Alten Testaments. 2 vols. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1882. Pp. x+428. M. 15.

Duhm, B. Die Theologie der Propheten als Grundlage für die innere Entwicklungsgeschichte der israelitischen Religion dargestellt. Bonn: Adolph Marcus, 1875. Pp. 331. [Out of print.]

Müller, D. H. Die Propheten in ihrer ursprünglichen Form. Die Grundgesetze der ursemitischen Poesie erschlossen und nachgewiesen in Bibel, Keilinschriften und Koran. 2 vols. Wien: Hölder, 1896. Pp. 588. M. 14.

Prophecy has always been a favorite field of activity for English scholars, hence the literature in English is abundant, and it compares most favorably with that in other languages. HARPER's manual furnishes an excellent guide to the study of prophecy prior to Isaiah. It is essentially a book for students, rather than for sporadic reading. BATTEN gives a very clear presentation of the fundamental characteristics of the prophet; this book is intelligible to any educated layman. BEECHER presents much good material, and will be found helpful by those desirous of holding as much as possible of their inherited opinions. FINDLAY's volumes range rapidly over the whole history of prophecy, setting forth the work and teachings of the successive prophets in popular style; the fourth and final volume is nearly ready. The most readable survey of the prophetic teaching is that of CORNILL; it is a splendid introduction to the whole field of

prophecy. KIRKPATRICK covers the entire prophetic movement, but from a more conservative point of view than Cornill, and likewise in a more detailed and necessarily less interesting manner. SMITH has long been a standard authority on Israelitish prophecy, and still demands reading. KUENEN'S was a masterly treatment of the subject far in advance of his time; some phases of it are still better discussed here than elsewhere. DAVIDSON'S posthumous work is a conglomeration of materials, not all of equal value. The book as a whole falls far below those published during his lifetime. It may be found helpful to beginning students. RIEHM'S *Messianic Prophecy* is on the whole perhaps the best book in English on this subject even yet. There is great need of a first-class treatment of this theme. BRIGGS was good in its day, but is now behind the times; at its best it was weak in its appreciation of the historical and human side of the prophetic activity. GOODSPEED is a good popular guide to Messianic prophecy, written from a mediating standpoint. WOODS sketches quickly and in the main accurately the main outlines of Messianic prophecy. ORELLI'S treatment is vitiated somewhat by the undue prominence given by the author to his theological presuppositions; but it is a good conservative study. EDGHILL seeks to rehabilitate the argument from prophecy for the divine character of Christianity. His work takes for granted the historical method of study and its more important results.

The special studies on the origin and nature of prophecy by KITTEL and KRAETZSCHMAR are of interest and value to all scholars. MAYBAUM'S sketch, now somewhat old, of the growth of the prophetic conceptions and influence is well balanced and clearly defined. FRANCKH offers a careful study of pre-prophetism which sets forth the rise of the prophetic ideal in Israel in a thoroughly intelligible way. GIESEBRECHT investigates the content of early prophecy to discover whether the covenant of Sinai is a necessary presupposition thereto; the work is well done. VOLZ denies the existence of a Messianic hope in pre-exilic Israel, relying chiefly on the proposition that pre-exilic prophecy was essentially pessimistic regarding the present age and its possibilities. KLEINERT does not offer much that is new to English students; but some portions of his work are of considerable value. MEINHOLD is investigating the origin of the idea of the remnant, and has wrought out some very interesting propositions. GIESEBRECHT'S discussion of the prophet's call is of much value; its method and spirit are above reproach. KÖNIG offers a vast collection of facts; but his conception of revelation is too mechanical, and he seeks to prove the unprovable. Revelation is a dogma of faith, not a proposition in geometry. DUHM'S *Theologie* is characterized by keen insight into the prophetic consciousness, and is still valuable to students. MÜLLER is devoted to the demonstration of his theory concerning the poetical form of the prophetic writings (cf. II, 3).

4. THE RELIGION OF THE HEBREWS

A. PRIMITIVE SEMITIC RELIGION

Barton, George Aaron. A Sketch of Semitic Origins, Social and Religious. New York: Macmillan, 1902. Pp. 342. $3.

Smith, W. Robertson. Lectures on the Religion of the Semites. The Fundamental Institutions. 2d ed. London: A. & C. Black, 1894. Pp. 521. 15*s*.

Smith, W. Robertson. Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia. New Edition, with additional Notes by the Author and by Professor Ignaz Goldziher, Budapest. Edited by Stanley A. Cook. London: A. & C. Black, 1903. Pp. 324. 10*s*. 6*d*.

Wellhausen, J. Reste des arabischen Heidenthums [*Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, III]. 2d ed. Berlin: G. Reimer. 1897. Pp. viii+250. M. 8.

Lagrange, M. J. Études sur les religions sémitiques [*Études Bibliques*]. 2d ed. Paris: Lecoffre, 1905. Pp. x+430. Fr. 10.

Curtiss, Samuel Ives. Primitive Semitic Religion Today. A Record of Researches, Discoveries and Studies in Syria, Palestine and the Sinaitic Peninsula. Chicago: Fleming H. Revell, 1902. Pp. 288. $1.50.

Baudissin, W. W. von. Studien zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte. 2 vols. Leipzig: W. Grunow, 1876–78. Pp. 636. M. 16.

Baethgen, F. Beiträge zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte. Der Gott Israel's und die Götter der Heiden. Berlin: H. Reuther, 1888. Pp. 316. M. 10.

Davies, T. W. Magic, Divination, and Demonology among the Hebrews and their Neighbours. London: Clarke, 1898. Pp. 146. *3s. 6d.*

Schwally, Friedrich. Semitische Kriegsaltertümer. I. Der heilige Krieg im alten Israel. Leipzig: Dieterich, 1901. Pp. 111. M. 3.

Some knowledge of the general Semitic religious background out of which the religion of Israel came is of much importance for any true understanding of the latter. In the effort to secure such knowledge BARTON will be found of much value; his is the best existing book upon the topics with which it deals. W. R. SMITH'S *Semites* has been the standard authority upon Semitic religious customs ever since its appearance; it contains a great mass of facts and rightly conceives the ideas that underlie them. No thorough student can dispense with this book. SMITH'S *Kinship and Marriage* is another indispensable book for the scholar; it is the most thorough discussion of this subject ever attempted. WELLHAUSEN'S is a masterly piece of work; it supplements W. R. SMITH'S *Semites* at many points, and is therefore invaluable for comparison and for completeness of comprehension. LAGRANGE covers a wider range than either Smith or Wellhausen, and writes with different presuppositions as to the origin and character of early religion. His work, therefore, and also because of its learning, demands full and fair consideration. CURTISS has done a valuable piece of work in collecting and putting upon record many of the customs of modern Syria and Palestine which must antedate the introduction of Mohammedanism and go back to very ancient times for their origin. The facts he presents are of great interest; concerning his conclusions there is room for difference of opinion. BAUDISSIN'S studies are devoted to a few special topics and are now somewhat antiquated, but not by any means valueless. BAETHGEN treats particularly matters relating to the idea of God among the Semites, and has arrived at important conclusions; the scholarship is accurate and trustworthy. DAVIES has gathered together some interesting materials; but his interpretation of his facts is not always reliable. SCHWALLY has begun a promising series of studies on the archaeology of war and its religious significance. The first instalment justifies us in hoping for the completion of the work.

B. THE RELIGIONS OF ISRAEL'S NEIGHBORS

Kuenen, A. National Religions and Universal Religions [*Hibbert Lectures for 1882*]. London: Williams & Norgate, 1882. Pp. 351. *10s. 6d.*

Steindorff, G. The Religion of the Ancient Egyptians. New York: G. B. Putnam's Sons, 1905. Pp. 187. $1.50.

Wiedemann, A. Religion of the Ancient Egyptians. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1897. Pp. 340. $3.50.

Wiedemann, A. The Realms of the Egyptian Dead according to the Belief of the Ancient Egyptians. Translated by J. Hutchison. London: David Nutt, 1901. Pp. 68. *1s.*

Budge, E. A. Wallis. Egyptian Ideas of the Future Life [*Books on Egypt and Chaldaea*]. New York: Henry Frowde, 1899. Pp. 210. $1.00.

Budge, E. A. Wallis. Egyptian Magic [*Books on Egypt and Chaldaea*]. New York: Henry Frowde, 1899. Pp. 249. $1.00.

Erman, A. A Handbook of Egyptian Religion (Translated by A. S. Griffith). London: Constable, 1907. Pp. 265. *10s. 6d.*

Sayce, A. H. The Religions of Ancient Egypt and Babylonia [*The Gifford Lectures on the Ancient Egyptian and Babylonian Conception of the Divine, Delivered in Aberdeen*]. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1902. Pp. 515. *8s.*

Jastrow, Morris, Jr. The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria [*Handbooks on the History of Religions*]. Boston: Ginn & Co., 1898. Pp. 792. $3.25.
Die Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens. Von Verfasser revidierte und wesentlich erweiterte Uebersetzung. Band I. Giessen: J. Ricker, 1905. Pp. 562. M. 13. Four parts (304 pp.) of Vol II are now published; price per part, M. 1.50.

King, L. W. Babylonian Religion and Mythology [*Books on Egypt and Chaldaea*]. New York: Henry Frowde, 1899. Pp. 227. $1.

Morgenstern, J. The Doctrine of Sin in the Babylonian Religion [*Mitteilungen der vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*, 1905. Heft. 3]. Berlin: W. Peiser, 1905. Pp. iii+158. M. 6.

Jeremias, A. Die babylonisch-assyrischen Vorstellungen vom Leben nach dem Tode. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1887. Pp. 131. M. 6.

Caspari, W. Die Religion in den assyrisch-babylonischen Busspsalmen [*Beiträge zur Förderung Christlicher Theologie*, xxi]. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1903. Pp. 92. M. 1.50.

KUENEN'S series of lectures is a good, scientific, popular sketch of some of the great religions of the world, with especial emphasis upon the Semitic and Hebrew religions. STEINDORFF gives an excellent popular but reliable treatment of Egyptian religion. WIEDEMANN'S volumes are of value to the special student who is able to make the necessary discriminations. BUDGE'S booklets present much interesting material, but are of secondary importance because of many inaccuracies. ERMAN'S popular presentation is the best existing study of Egpytian religion. SAYCE attempts to cover the entire oriental world, and necessarily fails to do it well. Many clever suggestions and plausible hypotheses make his volume interesting reading. JASTROW is the standard authority on the religion of Assyria and Babylonia. The German edition is really a new work, rather than a mere translation; much new material is incorporated, and much of the old is revised. KING'S sketch is thoroughly reliable and intelligible. The special studies of MORGENSTERN, JEREMIAS, and CASPARI are of importance to specialists.

C. HEBREW MANNERS, CUSTOMS, AND INSTITUTIONS

Harper, W. R. The Priestly Element in the Old Testament. An Aid to Historical Study, for use in advanced Bible Classes [*Constructive Bible Studies: College Series*]. 3d ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1905. Pp. 300. $1.

Green, W. H. The Hebrew Feasts in Their Relation to Recent Critical Hypotheses concerning the Pentateuch. New York: Carter, 1885. Pp. 329. $1.50.

Scot, A. F. Offering and Sacrifice. An Essay in Comparative Customs and Religious Development. London: Burleigh, 1900. Pp. 236. *2s. 6d.*

Scott, A. Sacrifice, Its Prophecy and Fulfillment [*The Baird Lecture*, 1892–93]. Edinburgh: Douglass, 1894. Pp. 394. *7s. 6d.*

Van Hoonacker, A. Le Sacerdoce lévitique dans la loi. Loewen: Istas, 1899. Pp. 475. Fr. 10.

Gall, August Freiherr von. Altisraelitische Kultstätten. Giessen: J. Ricker, 1898. Pp. 156. M. 5.

Schick, Conrad. Die Stiftshütte der Tempel im Jerusalem, und der Tempelplatz der Jetztzeit. Berlin: Weidmann, 1896. Pp. viii+363+11 plans. M. 15.

Kamphausen, A. Das Verhältnis des Menschenopfers zur israelitischen Religion. Bonn: Röhrscheid und Ebbecke, 1896. Pp. 75. M. 1.50.

Baudissin, W. W. von. Die Geschichte des alttestamentlichen Priesterthums. Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1889. Pp. 328. M. 7.

Köberle, Justus. Die Tempelsänger im Alten Testament. Ein Versuch zur israelitischen und jüdischen Cultusgeschichte. Erlangen: Fr. Junge, 1899. Pp. 205. M. 3.

Meinhold, J. Die Lade Jahves. Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr, 1900. Pp. 45. M. 1.50.

Lotz, A. Die Bundeslade. Leipzig: A. Deichert, 1901. Pp. 44. M. 1.20.

Dibelius, M. Die Lade Jahves: Eine religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung [*Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments*, 7. Heft]. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1906. Pp. viii+128. M. 3.60.

Nowack, W. Lehrbuch der hebräischen Archäologie. 2 vols. Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr, 1894. Pp. 719. M. 16.

Benzinger, J. Hebräische Archäologie. Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr, 1894. Pp. 515. M. 10.

Tristram, H. B. Eastern Customs in Bible Lands. New York: Thomas Whittaker, 1894. Pp. 262. $1.25.

Trumbull, H. Clay. The Blood Covenant. A Primitive Rite and its Bearings on Scripture. 2d ed. Philadelphia: John D. Wattles, 1893. Pp. x+390. $2.50.

Trumbull, H. Clay. The Threshold Covenant. New York: Scribners, 1896. Pp. 346. $2.50.

Trumbull, H. Clay. The Covenant of Salt, as Based on the Significance of Salt in Early Thought. New York: Scribners, 1899. Pp. 194. $1.50.

Trumbull, H. Clay. Studies in Oriental Social Life and Gleams from the East on the Sacred Page. Philadelphia: John D. Wattles & Co., 1894. Pp. 437. $2.50.

Thomson, W. M. The Land and the Book; or Biblical Illustrations Drawn from the Manners and Customs, the Scenes and Scenery, of the Holy Land. Popular edition. 3 vols. New York: Harpers, 1880. Pp. 1992. $7.50.

Ebstein, W. Die Medizin im Alten Testament. Stuttgart: Enke, 1901. Pp. 192. M. 5.

Weiss, Johann. Die musikalischen Instrumente in den heiligen Schriften des Alten Testamentes. Graz: Leuschner und Lubensky, 1895. Pp. 111. M. 7.

Gressmann, Hugo. Musik und Musikinstrumente im Alten Testament: Eine religionsgeschichtliche Studie. Giessen: J. Ricker, 1903. Pp. 32. M. 0.75.

Hejcl, J. Das alttestamentliche Zinsverbot im Lichte der ethnologischen Juris-

prudenz sowie des altorientalischen Zinswesens [*Biblische Studien*, Band XII. Heft. 4]. Freiburg im B.: Herder, 1907. Pp. viii+98. M. 2.80.

Day, Edward. The Social Life of the Hebrews [*The Semitic Series*, Vol. V]. New York: Scribners, 1901. Pp. 255. $1.25 net.

Buhl, Frants. Die socialen Verhältnisse der Israeliten. Berlin: Reuther & Reichard, 1899. Pp. 130. M. 2.

Bertholet, Alfred. Die Stellung der Israeliten und der Juden zu den Fremden. Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr, 1896. Pp. 368. M. 7.

Kraetzschmar, R. Die Bundesvorstellung im Alten Testament. Marburg: Elwert, 1896. Pp. 262. M. 6.40.

As a manual of study for the ritualistic and priestly customs in Israel's religion HARPER'S *Priestly Element* is unsurpassed. Clear outlines, numerous suggestions, and abundant literature are furnished for the study of every phase of the priestly life and thought. GREEN was the great champion of traditional views and his *Hebrew Feasts* was his greatest book; its learning is prodigious. SCOT traces sacrifice from animistic and totemistic beginnings, through polytheism down to the great sacrifice of Christ. In so wide a range of territory it is inevitable that there should be some lack of control in certain phases of the subject. SCOTT has constructed an interesting book, worth reading, even if not always convincing. VAN HOONACKER tries to rehabilitate the view that the Priestly Code is to be placed at the very beginning of Hebrew history, and seeks his materials in the legislation concerning the priesthood and in the statements of the Chronicler. VON GALL takes up the sanctuaries of Canaan one by one and in the light of literary and historical criticism writes their history. His work is of great value in its special field. SCHICK'S archaeological studies and reconstructed temple plans constitute the most elaborate study of the temple structure. KAMPHAUSEN contributes a very careful history of the custom of human sacrifice in Israel. His results can now be checked up to some extent by recent discoveries at Gezer. BAUDISSIN has written the only existing history of the Israelitish priesthood. It is now somewhat out of date owing to the advance of literary and historical criticism since 1889, but is of considerable value to the scholarly student because of the author's wide range of knowledge. KÖBERLE'S study of the temple singers is of interest only to specialists. The ark of the covenant has been the occasion of a little literature of its own within the past few years. The works of MEINHOLD, LOTZ, and DIBELIUS represent all the important views held concerning the nature and purpose of the ark.

The standard authorities on Hebrew archaeology in general are NOWACK and BENZINGER, the former being a little the more detailed of the two. TRISTRAM throws light on many biblical practices, and can be trusted as to his facts. TRUMBULL'S volumes on the various kinds of covenants are instructive and interesting for their large amount of illustrative materials as to the significance of the covenant idea in each case His *Studies* are of interest and use to the general Bible student. THOMSON is still a favorite among Bible students, and rightly so; though its chief interest is in New Testament life and times. EBSTEIN is a physician but not a biblical expert, hence his results are sometimes vitiated by his failure to understand the content and character of his sources. The book is of some value to the biblical specialist who can correct the author's errors. WEISS and GRESSMANN present two studies on Hebrew music and musical instruments which are of importance to those interested in this subject. Gressmann's is the better of the two and the more comprehensive in its treatment. The only satisfactory treatment of this subject in English is in the notes to Wellhausen's translation of the Psalms for the *Polychrome Bible*. HEJCL has made a study of the Old Testament law prohibiting interest and usury in the light of general and Semitic usage. His conclusion is that the law was not borrowed from Babylonia nor from Egypt, but is to be traced back to primitive Semitic law and usage. The study is a credit to Catholic scholarship.

DAY'S study of Israel's social life is somewhat subjective in its conclusions and lacking in an underlying philosophical grasp of the subject; but there is no better treatment in English. BUHL has worked out a brief but good statement of the social interests and customs of Israel, which may be recommended to all students of the subject. BERTHOLET'S is a fair and just statement of the relations between the Hebrew and the stranger in the Old Testament period. KRAETZSCHMAR'S is the standard work on the covenant idea in the Old Testament.

D. THE RELIGION OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

Kautzsch, E. Article "Religion of Israel," Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible, extra volume (1904). Pp. 612-734.

Marti, K. The Religion of the Old Testament: Its Place Among the Religions of the Nearer East [*The Crown Theological Library*]. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1907. Pp. vii+251. 4*s*. 6*d*.

Schultz, H. Old Testament Theology: The Religion of Revelation in its Pre-Christian Stage of Development. (Translated from the 4th German edition by J. A. Paterson.) 2 vols. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1892. Pp. 924. $6.

Alttestamentliche Theologie. Fünfte Auflage. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1896. Pp. 656. M. 10.40.

Davidson, A. B. The Theology of the Old Testament. Edited from the author's manuscripts by S. D. F. Salmond. New York: Scribners, 1904. Pp. 564. $2.50.

Kuenen, A. The Religion of Israel to the Fall of the Jewish State. (Translated from the Dutch by Alfred Heath May.) 3 vols. London: Williams & Norgate, 1874–75. Pp. 1064. 31*s*. 6*d*.

Duff, A. Old Testament Theology or The History of Hebrew Religion from the Year 800 B. C. Vol. I, From 800 B. C. to Josiah, 640 B. C. Vol. II, The Deuteronomic Reformation in Century VII B. C. London: A. & C. Black, 1891, 1900. Pp. 898. 25*s*. 6*d*.

Duff, A. The Theology and Ethics of the Hebrews [*The Semitic Series*]. New York: Scribners, 1902. Pp. 332. $1.25.

Budde, K. The Religion of Israel to the Exile [*American Lectures on the History of Religions*. Fourth Series, 1898–99]. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1899. Pp. 247. $1.50.

Cheyne, T. K. Jewish Religious Life After the Exile [*American Lectures on the History of Religions*. Third series, 1897–98]. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1898. Pp. 277. $1.50.

Robertson, J. A. The Early Religion of Israel as Set Forth by Biblical Writers and Modern Critical Historians. New York: Whittaker, 1902. Pp. 603. $1.60.

Montefiore, C. G. Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion as Illustrated by the Religion of the Ancient Hebrews [*The Hibbert Lectures for 1892*]. London: Williams & Norgate, 1892. Pp. 600. 10*s*. 6*d*.

Ottley, R. S. The Religion of Israel. A Historical Sketch. London: C. J. Clay & Sons, 1905. Pp. 227. 4*s*.

Addis, W. E. Hebrew Religion to the Establishment of Judaism under Ezra [*Crown Theological Library*]. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1906. Pp. xv+316. $1.25.

Bennett, W. H. The Theology of the Old Testament. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1895. Pp. 235. 2*s*. 6*d*.

Piepenbring, C. Theology of the Old Testament. (Translated from the French

by permission of the author, with added references for English readers, by H. G. Mitchell.) New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., 1893. Pp. 372. $1.75.

Gray, G. B. The Divine Discipline of Israel. London: A. & C. Black, 1900. Pp. 128. *2s. 6d.*

Stade, B. Biblische Theologie des Alten Testaments. Band I, Die Religion Israels und die Entstehung des Judentums. Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr, 1905. Pp. 395. M. 6.

Smend, R. Lehrbuch der alttestamentlichen Religionsgeschichte. 2d ed. Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr, 1899. Pp. 529. M. 11.50.

Marti, K. Geschichte der israelitischen Religion. 4th ed. Strassburg: Bull, 1903. Pp. 342. M. 4.

Dillmann, A. Handbuch der alttestamentlichen Theologie. Herausgegeben von R. Kittel. Leipzig: Hirzel, 1895. Pp. 573. M. 11.

Riehm, E. Alttestamentliche Theologie. Herausgegeben von K. Pahncke. Halle: Strien, 1889. Pp. 456. M. 8.50.

Giesebrecht, F. Die Grundzüge der israelitischen Religionsgeschichte. Berlin: G. B. Teubner, 1904. Pp. 136. M. 1.

Wildeboer, G. Jahvedienst und Volksreligion in Israel in ihrem gegenseitigen Verhältnis. Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr, 1899. Pp. 44. M. 0.80.

Nowack, W. Die Entstehung der altisraelitischen Religion. Strassburg: Heitz, 1895. Pp. 31. M. 0.80.

Nikel, J. Der Monotheismus Israels in der vorexilischen Zeit. Paderborn: Schöningh, 1893. Pp. 61. M. 1.

Valeton, J. J. P., Jr. "Die Israeliten" in Chantepie de la Saussaye's *Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte* (Vol. I, pp. 242–325). Dritte Auflage. 2 vols. Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr, 1905. Pp. 1159. M. 24.

Die Christliche Religion mit Einschluss der israelitische-jüdischen Religion. Von J. Wellhausen, A. Jülicher, A. Harnack, N. Bonwetsch, K. Müller, F. X. Funk, E. Troeltsch, J. Pohle, J. Mansbach, C. Krieg, W. Herrmann, R. Seeberg, W. Faber, H. J. Holtzmann [*Die Kultur der Gegenwart: Ihre Entwickelung und ihre Ziele.* Herausgegeben von P. Hinneberg]. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1906. Pp. 762. M. 16.

Kautzsch's article, equal to a good-sized volume in compass, is a well-balanced, comprehensive, scholarly presentation of the history of the Hebrew religion. It is perhaps the best single treatise covering the entire ground; it is certainly unequaled in English. Marti's *Religion* is the best popular, bird's-eye view of Hebrew religion in its historical development from the standpoint of an advanced critic. Schultz has long held high rank among English-speaking students and well deserves it; but a faithful interpretation of Hebrew thought and feeling is lacking here, because the author is unable to divest himself of certain theological presuppositions. Davidson's posthumous *Theology* falls far short of justifiable expectations; it is not representative of its author's best work and maturest scholarship, but a miscellany selected from various stages of his developing career. Kuenen is now obsolescent; but he has greatly influenced all later scholarship and may still be consulted with profit. Duff's *Theology* is historically presented and is of value to the minister for whom it was written; but the author's own distinctive views on some ques-

tions of literary history vitiate somewhat his theological interpretation. His *Theology and Ethics* is distinctly popular, and is perhaps the best treatment of Old Testament ethics in print, but there is nothing else of value on this specific theme. BUDDE gives in vivid, virile narrative some important and prevailing views concerning early Israel's religion. CHEYNE treats difficult and debatable territory to original and suggestive interpretation; but there is much subjectivism in his volume. ROBERTSON furnishes the conservative school with its best summary of Israel's early religion; every student should read it. MONTEFIORE in clear and vigorous narrative relates the growth of Israel's religion with sober judgment. OTTLEY and ADDIS offer two very elementary manuals well adapted to the needs of Sunday-school teachers and beginners; Ottley is the more conservative of the two. BENNETT appeals to the same constituency as Ottley and Addis, but is not equal to them in constructive and pedagogic ability. PIEPENBRING is the best French work on Old Testament theology; it is popular in aim and moderate in its critical attitude. GRAY'S is another popular volume, but based upon sound scholarship.

The latest German volume is that of STADE whose lamented death prevents the completion of the work. It is thoroughly critical and historical, but somewhat deficient on the side of philosophic, constructive statement; it is too much like a series of isolated archaeological studies, but is nevertheless of great use by its suggestive and instructive value. SMEND is the best authority covering the entire period of Israel's religion; he is thoroughly scientific and historical in spirit and method, and characterized by discrimination and insight. MARTI is somewhat more radical in view-point than Smend, and moves more rapidly; his *Geschichte* is a good piece of constructive work. DILLMANN-KITTEL is moderate and cautious in its critical positions, but not quite in touch with present conclusions; Dillmann was not a historian and Kittel could not make his work over. RIEHM'S is a good, cautious presentation of the religion of Israel as historically mediated, but it is now passing out of date. GIESEBRECHT'S sketch is bold and true in its main outlines; but it is intended primarily for popular use. The same thing is true of WILDEBOER and NOWACK who are well worth reading. NIKEL'S is a careful piece of constructive conservative scholarship. VALETON'S sketch of Israel's religion is excellently done; it is one of the best contributions to Saussaye's great work. WELLHAUSEN'S summary in *Die Kultur der Gegenwart* presents nothing new, but is of special interest and value as offering in popular form a digest of its author's views at the present time concerning the religion of Israel.

E. SPECIAL PHASES OF THE RELIGION OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

Peisker, M. Die Beziehungen der Nicht-israeliten zu Jahve nach der Anschauung der altisraelitischen Quellenschriften [*Beihefte zur ZAW*, XII]. Giessen: Alf. Töpelmann, 1907. Pp. iii+95. M. 2.50.

Gall, August Freiherr von. Die Herrlichkeit Gottes; Eine biblisch-theologische Untersuchung über das ganze Alten Testament, die Targumim, Apokryphen, Apokalypsen und das Neuen Testament. Giessen: J. Ricker, 1900. Pp. 109. M. 3.20.

Giesebrecht, F. Die alttestamentliche Schätzung des Gottesnamens und ihre religionsgeschichtliche Grundlage. Königsberg i. Pr.: Thomas und Oppermann, 1901. Pp. 150. M. 4.

Duhm, B. Die Gottgeweihten in der alttestamentlichen Religion. Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr, 1905. Pp. 34. M. 0.60.

Duhm, Hans. Die bösen Geister im Alten Testament, Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr, 1904. Pp. 72. M. 1.20.

Wood, I. F. The Spirit of God in Biblical Literature. New York: Armstrong. 1904. Pp. 280. $1.25.

Erbt, W. Die Sicherstellung des Monotheismus durch die Gesetzgebung in vorexilischen Juda. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1903. Pp. 127. M. 3.60.

Sellin, E. Beiträge zur israelitischen und jüdischen Religionsgeschichte. I.

Jahwes Verhältnis zum israelitischen Volk und Individuum nach altisraelitischer Vorstellung. II. Israel's Güter und Ideale. Leipzig: Deichert, 1896–97. Pp. 566. M. 10.

Löhr, M. Sozialismus und Individualismus im Alten Testament. Ein Beitrag zur alttestamentlichen Religionsgeschichte [*Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentlichen Wissenschaft*, X]. Giessen: A. Töpelmann, 1906. Pp. 36. M. 0.80.

Pooler, L. A. Studies in the Religion of Israel. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1904. Pp. 288. 5*s*.

Peake, A. S. The Problem of Suffering in the Old Testament. London: Robert Bryant, 1904. Pp. 212. 2*s*. 6*d*.

Tennant, F. R. The Sources of the Doctrine of the Fall and Original Sin. Cambridge: The University Press, 1903. Pp. 377. 9*s*.

Bennewitz, F. Die Sünde im Alten Israel. Leipzig: A. Deichert, 1907. Pp. xii+271. M. 5.

Köberle, Justus. Sünde und Gnade im religiösen Leben des Volkes Israel bis auf Christum. Eine Geschichte des vorchristlichen Heilsbewusstseins. München: C. H. Beck, 1905. Pp. 701. M. 12.

Staerk, Willy. Sünde und Gnade nach der Vorstellung des älteren Judentums, besonders der Dichter der sogenannten Busspsalmen. Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr, 1905. Pp. 78. M. 1.50.

Beeching, H. C., and Nairne, A. The Bible Doctrine of Atonement. Six Lectures given in Westminster Abbey. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1907. Pp. xiii+110. $1 net.

Hehn, J. Sünde und Erlösung nach biblischer und babylonischer Anschauung. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1903. Pp. 67. M. 1.60.

Hermann, J. Die Idee der Sünde im Alten Testament. Eine Untersuchung über Gebrauch und Bedeutung des Wortes *Kipper*. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1905. Pp. 121. M. 3.50.

Charles, R. H. A Critical History of the Doctrine of a Future Life in Israel, in Judaism, and in Christianity; or Hebrew, Jewish and Christian Eschatology from Pre-prophetic Times till the Close of the New Testament Canon. Being the Jowett Lectures for 1898–99. London: A. &. C. Black, 1899. Pp. 438. $5.

Gressmann, Hugo. Der Ursprung der israelitisch-jüdischen Eschatologie [*Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments*, herausgegeben von W. Bousset und H. Gunkel]. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1905. Pp. 386. M. 10.

Volz, Paul. Jüdische Eschatologie von Daniel bis Akiba. Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr, 1903. Pp. 428. M. 7.

Grüneisen, Carl. Der Ahnenkultus und die Urreligion Israels. Halle a. S.: Max Niemeyer, 1900. Pp. 302. M. 6.

Zapletal, V. Der Totemismus und die Religion Israels: Ein Beitrag zur religionswissenschaft, und zur Erklärung des Alten Testamentes. Freiburg: B. Veith, 1901. Pp. 189. Fr. 8.

Frey, J. Tod, Seelenglaube und Seelenkult im alten Israel: Eine religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung. Leipzig: A. Deichert, 1898. Pp. 252. M. 3.75.

Bertholet, A. Die israelitischen Vorstellungen vom Zustand nach dem Tode: Ein öffentlicher Vortrag. Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr, 1899. Pp. 31. M. 0.80.

Schwally, F. Das Leben nach dem Tode nach den Vorstellungen des alten Israel und des Judentums einschliesslich des Volksglaubens im Zeitalter Christi. Eine biblisch-theologische Untersuchung. Giessen: J. Ricker, 1892. Pp. 212. M. 5.

Friedländer, M. Griechischer Philosophie im Alten Testament. Eine Einleitung in die Psalmen- und Weisheit-Litteratur. Berlin: Reimer, 1904. Pp. 243. M. 5.40.

Sellin, E. Die Spuren griechischer Philosophie im Alten Testament. Leipzig: A. Deichert, 1905. Pp. 32. M. 0.60.

Gray, G. B. Studies in Hebrew Proper Names. New York: Macmillan, 1896. Pp. xv+338. $2.75.

Nestle, Eb. Die israelitischen Eigennamen nach ihrer religionsgeschichtlichen Bedeutung. Haarlem: Bohn, 1876. Pp. viii+215.

PEISKER's is a painstaking and illuminating study of a phase of the problem of Hebrew monotheism. GALL's special study of the idea of the glory of God is well done, and worthy of a place in every good working library on the Old Testament. GIESEBRECHT has produced the best study of the Old Testament estimate of the divine Name. DUHM's treatise is a masterly presentation of the facts of his subject and their significance. His son, HANS DUHM has earned a good place for himself among Old Testament scholars by his fine treatment of Hebrew demonology. WOOD furnishes probably the best treatise on his difficult but important subject. ERBT is clever, but not always well balanced in his judgment. SELLIN'S studies are of much value to scholars who can exercise discrimination in their use. LÖHR'S is an excellent study of the place of the individual in early Hebrew thought; reference may also be made to my article on the same subject in *The American Journal of Theology*, Vol. X. POOLER is popular in tone and of only moderate value. PEAKE is reliable and stimulating in his exposition; his treatment is sympathetic and to be commended as the best discussion on the subject. TENNANT is keen and thorough; his book is necessary to all students of Gen. 3. BENNEWITZ is the latest writer on sin in the Old Testament, and is useful for orientation, but advances the subject but little. KÖBERLE is modern but cautious in his treatment; it is a useful history of these ideas but throws little new light upon their content and genesis. STAERK'S study confines itself to a limited period and literature in which it will be found of value. BEECHING AND NAIRNE present a very readable and essentially true account of the Old Testament views of atonement; the treatment is intended for popular use. HEHN offers a comparative study of Biblical and Babylonian ideas of sin and redemption, which is of value for those unable to go direct to the Babylonian sources. HERMANN'S study is of much value to every student; for a still better discussion reference may be made to H. P. SMITH'S article on the same theme in *The American Journal of Theology*, Vol. X. On Hebrew eschatology CHARLES is the standard authority. GRESSMANN presents a radically different conception of the history of eschatology, and compels consideration. VOLZ is learned and illuminating on Jewish eschatology. GRÜNEISEN is informing and fairly conservative in his study of primitive Hebrew religion. ZAPLETAL sets himself strongly against the totemistic interpretation of early Hebrew religion. FREY, BERTHOLET, and SCHWALLY discuss the Israelitish conception of the hereafter historically and from slightly varying standpoints. FRIEDLÄNDER presents skilfully the view that the Wisdom Literature was called

forth in response to the new demands created by contact with Greek thought and life. SELLIN criticizes Friedländer forcefully and in part successfully. GRAY gives a careful and instructive study of the formation and religious significance of proper names in Hebrew. NESTLE'S discussion of the same subject is still of value.

V. MISCELLANEOUS BOOKS

Davidson, A. B. Biblical and Literary Essays. Edited by J. A. Paterson. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1902. Pp. xii+320. 6*s*.

Hatch, E. Essays in Biblical Greek. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1889. Pp. x+293. 10*s*. 6*d*.

BIBLICAL AND SEMITIC STUDIES. Critical and Historical Essays by the Members of the Semitic and Biblical Faculty of Yale University [*Yale Bicentennial Publications*]. New York: Scribners, 1901. Pp. xii+330. $2.50.

ORIENTALISCHE STUDIEN. Theodor Nöldeke zum siebzigsten Geburtstag gewidmet von Freunden und Schülern und in ihrem Auftrag herausgegeben von Carl Bezold. 2 vols. Giessen: A. Töpelmann, 1906. Pp. liv+1187. M. 40.

OLD TESTAMENT AND SEMITIC STUDIES IN MEMORY OF WILLIAM RAINEY HARPER. Edited by R. F. Harper, Francis Brown, G. F. Moore. 2 vols. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1907. Pp. *ca*. 1000. $10.

Lagarde, Paul de. Mittheilungen. 4 vols. Göttingen: Dieterich, 1884–91. Pp. 1580. $10.60.

Winckler, H. Alttestamentliche Untersuchungen. Leipzig: E. Pfeiffer, 1892. Pp. 192. M. 7.50.

Budde, K. Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur biblischen Wissenschaft von Dr. Abraham Kuenen. Aus dem Holländischen übersetzt. Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr, 1894. Pp. 511. M. 12.

Stade, B. Ausgewählte akademische Reden und Abhandlungen. 2d ed., with portrait of the author. Giessen: A. Töpelmann, 1907. Pp. 296. M. 2.75.

König, E. Hebräisch und semitisch. Prolegomena und Grundlinien einer Geschichte der semitischen Sprachen, nebst einem Exkurs über die vorjosuanische Sprache Israels und die Pentateuchquelle PC. Berlin: Reuther und Reichard, 1901. Pp. vii+128. M. 4.

ARAMAIC PAPYRI DISCOVERED AT ASSUAN. Edited by A. H. Sayce, with the assistance of A. E. Cowley; and with appendices by W. Spiegelberg and Seymour de Ricci. London: A. Moring, 1906. Pp. 79+27 plates. 21*s*.

DAVIDSON'S volume contains a number of popular studies, addresses, and lectures, of considerable interest and value to the general Bible student. HATCH is of especial value for a correct appreciation of the Septuagint. The Yale *Biblical and Semitic Studies* include two articles of some value on the Old Testament, viz., E. L. Curtis's "Tribes of Israel," and Kent and Sanders' "Growth of Israelitish Law." The volumes in honor of NÖLDEKE contain much Old Testament material and represent the best scholarship of Germany. The contents of the WILLIAM R. HARPER memorial volumes are more than half Old Testament studies; they represent the best American scholarship. LAGARDE'S volumes are a miscellany in themselves; but buried within the mass of learning is much of great value in Old Testament study,

especially on its linguistic and textual side. WINCKLER's studies take up questions in analysis of literary sources, historical investigation, geography, and exegesis and never fail of originality. BUDDE has brought together and translated some of the most important articles of the greatest of Dutch scholars on the Old Testament. STADE's studies treat some Old Testament topics of great importance, e. g., "The Task of Old Testament Theology" and "The Origin of the People of Israel." KÖNIG's volume concerns itself only slightly with Hebrew except in so far as it forms a part of Semitic language in general; it is of value only to advanced students thoroughly familiar with the whole range of Semitic languages. The *Assuan Papyri* are of great significance for the understanding of exilic conditions, social and religious; Sayce has published them in splendid form.

VI. THE OLD TESTAMENT APOCRYPHA

THE APOCRYPHA. Revised Version. Oxford: University Press, 1895. Pp. xi+175.

Ball, C. J. The Ecclesiastical or Deutero-Canonical Books of the Old Testament, Commonly Called The Apocrypha. Edited with various renderings and readings from the best authorities [*The Variorum Bible*]. London: Eyre and Spottiswood, 1892. Pp. viii+276. $2.

Bissell, E. C. The Apocrypha of the Old Testament. With historical Introduction, a Revised Translation, and Notes Critical and Explanatory [*Lange Series*]. New York: Scribners, 1890. Pp. 680. $3.

Kautzsch, E. Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments. 2 Bde. Leipzig: Mohr, 1900. Erster Band, Apokryphen. Pp. xxii+507. Zweiter Band, Pseudepigraphen. Pp. vii+540. M. 24; or separately, M. 14 per volume.

Zöckler, O. Apokryphische Bücher des Alten Testaments. München: Beck, 1891. Pp. xi+495. M. 8.

Fritzsche, O. F., *et al.* Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch zu den Apokryphen des Alten Testaments. 6 vols. bound in 3. Leipzig: Weidmann, 1851–59. Pp. viii+222; iv+212; xxxv+235; iv+371; xl+415; iv+300.

Smend, R. Die Weisheit des Jesus Sirach erklärt. Berlin: G. Reimer, 1906. Pp. clix+517. M. 16.

ARTICLES on "Apocrypha of the Old Testament" in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, by F. C. Porter; in *Encyclopaedia Biblica* by M. R. James; in *Protestantische Realencyklopädie*, by E. Schürer.

The Revised Version of the Apocrypha is obtainable in many styles and at various prices. The best form of the Authorized Version is the Variorum Bible edition by BALL. BISSELL's is the best English commentary on the whole Apocrypha; but it is not equal to the best German works. KAUTZSCH's is the best commentary on the Apocrypha as a whole; each book is assigned to a specialist. ZÖCKLER is more condensed and popular. FRITZSCHE is hardly up to present-day methods and standards, but contains much good material. SMEND's is the most elaborate and thorough treatment of Ecclesiasticus. The encyclopaedia articles offer the most important facts concerning the origin and nature of the apocryphal books; SCHÜRER's is especially valuable.

VII. PERIODICAL PUBLICATIONS

1. AMERICAN

The Biblical World [Founded by William Rainey Harper]. Editor in Chief: Ernest D. Burton, in association with members of the Biblical and Theological Faculties of the University of Chicago. A Monthly Illustrated Magazine

for Bible Students. Published by the University of Chicago Press, Chicago. $2 a year.

The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures [Founded by William Rainey Harper]. Editor: R. F. Harper, in association with members of the Semitic Faculties of the Universities of Chicago, Harvard, Yale, Columbia, Union Theological Seminary, Meadville Theological School. Quarterly. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago. $4 a year.

The American Journal of Theology. Edited by the Divinity and Biblical Faculties of the University of Chicago, in association with representatives from other theological faculties. Quarterly. Published by the University of Chicago Press, Chicago. $3 a year.

The Journal of Biblical Literature. Edited by a Committee of the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis. Semi-annual. Containing Papers by Members of the Society. Published for the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis by Messrs. G. E. Stechert & Co., New York. $3 a year.

Bibliotheca Sacra. Editor: G. F. Wright. A Religious and Sociological Quarterly. Published by the Bibliotheca Sacra Company, Oberlin, Ohio. $3 a year.

The Princeton Theological Review. Editors: Francis L. Patton, B. B. Warfield, and others. Quarterly. Published by The Princeton University Press, Princeton. $3 a year.

The Baptist Review and Expositor. Edited by the Faculty of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary. Quarterly. Published by the Seminary Press, Louisville, Ky. $2 a year.

The Hartford Seminary Record. Editors: A. L. Gillett, W. S. Pratt, C. S. Thayer. Quarterly. Hartford Seminary Press, Hartford, Conn. $1 a year.

The Methodist Review. Editor: William V. Kelley. Bimonthly. Published by Messrs. Eaton & Mains, New York. $2.50 a year.

The Methodist Quarterly Review. Editor: John J. Tigert. Quarterly. Published by Messrs. Smith & Lamar, Nashville, Tenn. $2 a year.

The Reformed Church Review. Editors: George W. Richards, John S. Stahr. Quarterly. Published by the Reformed Church Publication Board, Lancaster, Pa. $2 a year.

The New York Review. A Journal of the Ancient Faith and Modern Thought. Edited by the Faculty of St. Joseph's Seminary. Bimonthly. Published by St. Joseph's Seminary, Yonkers, N. Y. $3 a year.

THE BIBLICAL WORLD and THE JOURNAL OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE devote themselves to biblical topics, the former being popular, the latter technical in character, and both representative of the historical school of interpretation. The AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SEMITIC LANGUAGES is of a technical character and covers the entire field of Semitic literature, including the Old Testament. The whole field of theology is covered by *The American Journal of Theology*, *Bibliotheca Sacra*, *The Princeton Theological Review*, *The Baptist Review and Expositor*, and *The New York Review* (a new Roman Catholic journal of progressive

spirit); occasional Old Testament articles appear; the first of this group represents a liberal type of theology, the rest are representative of various degrees of conservatism. The remaining journals on the list are practical in aim, and treat Old Testament subjects only in so far as they directly subserve practical ends.

2. BRITISH

The Expository Times. Editor: James Hastings. A Monthly Magazine for Bible Students. Published by Messrs. T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh; imported by Messrs. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. $1.50 a year.

The Expositor. Editor: W. Robertson Nicoll. Monthly. Published by Messrs. Hodder & Stoughton, London. $3 a year.

The Jewish Quarterly Review. Editors: I. Abrahams and C. G. Montefiore. London; Macmillan Co. 11*s.* a year.

The Hibbert Journal. Editor: L. P. Jacks. Sub-Editor: G. Dawes Hicks. Quarterly. A Review of Religion, Theology, and Philosophy. Published by Messrs. Williams & Norgate, London; imported by Messrs. G. E. Stechert & Co., New York. $2.50 a year.

The Journal of Theological Studies. Editors: J. F. Bethune-Baker, F. E. Brightman. Quarterly. Published by Henry Frowde, London and New York. $3 a year.

The Review of Theology and Philosophy. Editor: Allan Menzies. Monthly. Published by Messrs. Otto Schulze & Co., Edinburgh; imported by Messrs. G. E. Stechert & Co., New York. $4 a year.

Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology. Monthly. Published at the offices of the Society, London.

The Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement. Edited by the Officers of the Palestine Exploration Fund, as the Official Organ of the Society. Quarterly. Published by the Palestine Exploration Fund, London; Secretary for America, Dr. T. F. Wright, Cambridge, Mass. $2.50 a year; free to subscribers to the Fund.

The *Expository Times* is a popular monthly devoted wholly to biblical interpretation and containing many brief expository and practical studies. *The Expositor* represents the same point of view, but is more formal in make-up and spirit, publishing longer and more pretentious articles. *The Jewish Quarterly Review* publishes many Old Testament articles which are usually of a high scholarly character. *The Hibbert Journal* is less biblical than any of the foregoing, but is thoroughly progressive in its attitude toward all biblical and theological subjects. *The Journal of Theological Studies* devotes itself chiefly to the publication of textual and patristic sources, but its occasional articles on the Old Testament set a high standard. *The Review of Theology and Philosophy* is devoted to the task of estimating the value of current theological and biblical writings. The *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* is a record of the actions and discussions of the Archaeological Society of Great Britain; its contents are sometimes of value for biblical interpretation. The *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement* is the official record of the Fund's current activities and discoveries in Palestine; occasionally an article of general archaeological interest is included.

3. FRENCH

Revue biblique internationale. Edited by l'École pratique d Études bibliques établie au Couvent Dominicain Saint-Etienne de Jérusalem. Quarterly. Published by the Librairie Victor Lecoffre, Paris. Fr. 15 a year.

Revue sémitique d'epigraphie et d'histoire ancienne. Editor: J. Halévy. Quarterly. Paris: E. Leroux. Fr. 20 a year.

Revue d'histoire et de littérature religieuses. Editors not indicated. Bimonthly. Paris: A. Picard & Son. Fr. 12.50 a year.

4. GERMAN

Theologische Literaturzeitung. Edited by A. Harnack and E. Schürer. Semimonthly. Published by the J. C. Hinrichssche Buchhandlung, Leipzig. M. 18 a year.

Theologisches Literaturblatt. Edited by Dr. Hölscher. Weekly. Published by Dörffling & Franke, Leipzig. M. 10 a year.

Orientalistische Literatur-Zeitung. Editor: F. E. Peiser. Monthly. Berlin: Wolf Peiser. M. 12 a year.

Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft. Editor: Karl Marti. Semiannual. Published by J. Ricker, Giessen. M. 10 a year.

Theologische Studien und Kritiken. Editors: E. Kautzsch, E. Haupt. Quarterly. Published by F. A. Perthes, Gotha. M. 16 a year.

Archiv für Religionswissenschaft. Editor: A. Dieterich, in association with H. Oldenberg, C. Bezold, K. Th. Preuss. Quarterly. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner. M. 16 a year.

Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche. Editor: I. Gottschick. Bimonthly. Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr. M. 6 a year.

Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift. Editor: W. Engelhardt in association with a large number of German scholars. Monthly. Published by the A. Deichertsche Verlagsbuchhandlung Nachf., Leipzig. M. 10 a year.

Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie. Editor: Adolf Hilgenfeld. Quarterly. Published by Reisland, Leipzig. M. 15 a year.

Biblische Zeitschrift. Editors: Joh. Göttsberger, Jos. Sickenberger. Quarterly Published by the Herdersche Verlagshandlung, St. Louis, Mo. $3.00 a year.

Theologische Quartalschrift. Edited by the Professors of Catholic Theology at Tübingen. Quarterly. Published by H. Laupp, Jr., Tübingen. M. 9 a year.

Theologische Revue. Editors: A. Bludau and Franz Diekamp. Twenty numbers a year. Published by the Aschendorffsche Buchhandlung, Münster i. W. M. 10 a year.

Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins. Editor: C. Steuernagel. Monthly. Published by K. Baedeker, Leipzig. M. 12 a year.

Mittheilungen und Nachrichten des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins. Editor: H. Guthe. Monthly. Published by K. Baedeker, Leipzig. M. 12 a year, free to members of the Verein.

Theologischer Jahresbericht. An annual index and review of the theological publications of all countries. Founded in 1881. Editors: G. Krüger and

W. Köhler. Published by C. A. Schwetschke & Sohn, Braunschweig; imported by Messrs. G. E. Stechert & Co., New York. Annual subscription, M. 31.50. Abt. 3, Das Alte Testament, M. 4.50.

Theologische Rundschau. Editors: W. Bousset, W. Heitmüller. Monthly. A Review of Current Theological Literature. Published by J. C. B. Mohr, Leipzig. M. 6 a year.

Oriental Bibliography. Editor: L. Scherman, with others. London: Williams & Norgate. 12*s.* 6*d.* a year.

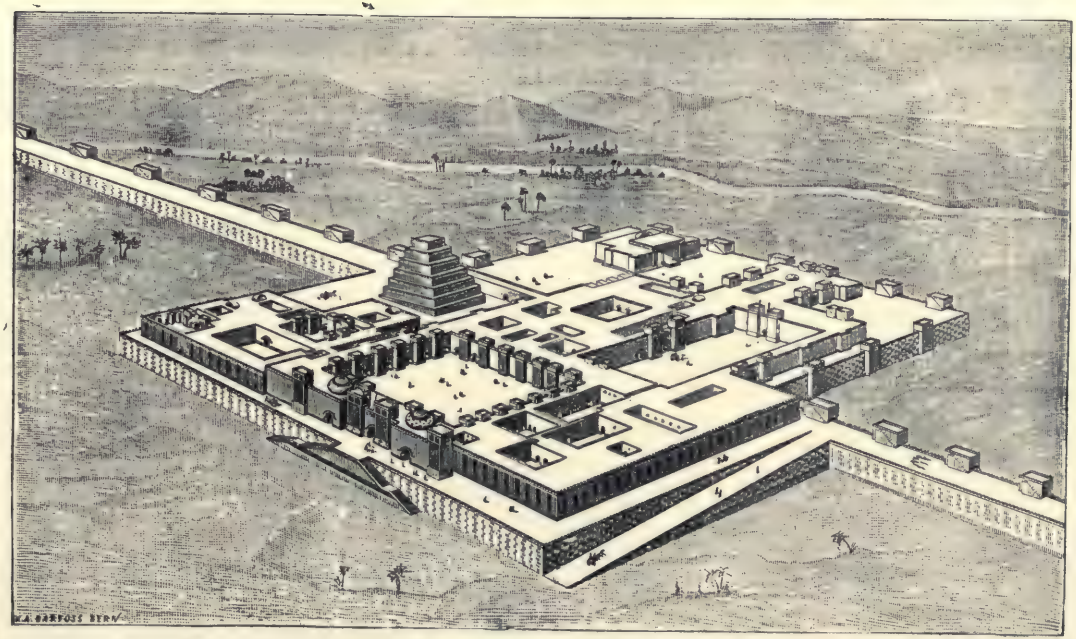
Die Theologie der Gegenwart. Editors: Grützmacher, Köberle, *et al.* Quarterly. Leipzig: A. Deichert. M. 3.50 a year. Old Testament section separately, about M. 1.20 to M. 1.50 a year.

5. DUTCH

Theologische Tijdschrift. Editors: Groenewegen, Lake, Oort, *et al.* Quarterly. Leiden: Van Doesburgh.

Theologische Studien. Editors: F. E. Daubanton, C. H. Van Rhijn, *et al.* Bimonthly. Utrecht: Kemink & Zoon. Fl. 5.75 a year.

The French journals are of relatively slight value; occasionally a strong article appears in *Revue biblique* or *Revue Sémitique*. Among German publications *Theologische Literaturzeitung* and *Theologisches Literaturblatt* provide surveys of contemporaneous literature, the former from a progressive, the latter from a thoroughly conservative view-point. The *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* reviews the more important Semitic literature and adds brief articles on Semitic topics. The *Zeitschrift für die alttest. Wissenschaft* is the only exclusively Old Testament journal in the world; and is a medium of publication for the best Old Testament scholars. The *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, and *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, and *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*, and *Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift*, and *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie* open their pages frequently to Old Testament articles which are always worth reading. The *Biblische Zeitschrift* is an exclusively biblical journal edited from a Roman Catholic standpoint, and giving admirable surveys of current literature in each issue. *Theologische Quartalschrift*, a Roman Catholic quarterly, admits occasional Old Testament articles. *Theologische Revue* is a Roman Catholic survey of current theological literature. The publications of the *Deutsche Palästina-Verein* constitute a complete survey of German excavations and discoveries in Palestine. The *Theologische Jahresbericht* gives annually a complete survey of the theological publications of the previous year; all the more important books are briefly annotated; the spirit of the Old Testament section is distinctively progressive. *Oriental Bibliography* covers only the Semitic and oriental literature, and confines itself to the titles of books, articles, and reviews, offering no comment; its survey is made annually and covers the literature of the preceding year. *Die Theologie der Gegenwart* is a new bibliographical organ; it differs from others in that it selects for notice only the most important publications and seeks to indicate the general trend of contemporary thought; the Old Testament editor is Köberle, a conservatively progressive scholar. The two Dutch journals are primarily theological, but they frequently contain good Old Testament articles.



THE PALACE OF SARGON

(From *The Monuments and the Old Testament*, by Ira M. Price)

THE BIBLICAL WORLD

VOLUME XXX DECEMBER, 1907 NUMBER 6

Editorial

THE PERIL OF LAWLESSNESS

THE LIBERTY OF THE GOSPEL

The New Testament teaches a doctrine of personal religious liberty. "With freedom did Christ set us free. Stand fast therefore and be not entangled again in a yoke of bondage," is the ringing exhortation of the Apostle Paul, in which he but puts in explicit form what was involved in the teaching of Jesus also.

THE PREVALENCE OF THE LAWLESS SPIRIT

But lawlessness is one of the most serious of the perils that confront us in this land and day. We do not refer to the existence of a criminal class that makes a business of breaking law, nor of anarchists, whose theory it is that there should be no law. It is, if possible, a more serious matter, that among the educated and respectable class of the community, even among religious men, disregard of law manifests itself both in small matters and in large. Corporations evade the statutes which were intended to limit their actions in the interest of the common good. Automobilists defy the speed regulations. Officials, sworn to obey and execute the laws, take advantage of their official position and power to extort money from criminals and honest citizens, and make of law a mockery and a scoffing. Travelers avoid payment of customs, and evasion of taxes is, in some quarters, almost taken for granted. Nor are these merely technical violations of civil statutes. In many cases at least they involve danger and work injury to others. They violate the fundamental principle of morality. They undermine character, corrupt the minds of the youth, and weaken the moral fiber of the nation.

How shall we escape this evil of lawlessness? Must we surrender the liberty which Jesus taught and for which Paul contended? If not, how shall we conserve our liberty and not become participators in and encouragers of lawlessness?

INDIFFERENCE TO THE EVIL IMPOSSIBLE

The result cannot be achieved by simply letting things drift. It will not do to say that this is the spirit of the age, which it is useless to resist; the tide will turn some day; but now there is nothing to do but to float with it. The issue is too vital, the damage to character too great, the danger to the church and the nation too serious to permit such a *laissez-faire* policy.

LEGALISM AN INEFFECTUAL CORRECTIVE

But neither can the danger be averted by a return to legalism. That experiment has been tried too often, its result is too evident to make it necessary or permissible to repeat it again. The Phariseeism of the first century and the Puritanism of the seventeenth had their noble qualities. They were at least morally earnest and recognized the supremacy of the moral in life. They were vastly better than mere frivolousness, or sensuality, or high-handed lawlessness. But Puritanism is not the last or the best word of the experience of the past to the men of the future. An element of legalism must enter into the childhood history of individuals and races. But it is not the solution of the world's problem. The experience of Paul epitomizes that of the race. Mere legalism, however strict or strenuous, can never develop real morality. Without the element of voluntariness, morality lacks the vital breath.

It is, moreover, self-defeating. For in proportion as it dominates the minds of men, it destroys the power even to construct a code adapted to existing conditions. For losing sight of principles in its exclusive attention to rules, it deprives itself of all basis of intelligent decision. The time past may suffice to have proved the insufficiency of legalistic morality.

INTELLIGENT SPIRITUALITY

Where then is the corrective of the evil? It is to be found where Christ and Paul found it, in intelligent spirituality. By this we mean

what Paul meant when, confronting the very danger we are considering, he wrote to the Galatians, Walk by the Spirit and you will not fulfil the desire of the flesh; be led by the Spirit and you are not under law.

Such intelligent spirituality presupposes a fundamentally religious view of life. It recognizes the fact of moral obligation and of an authority exceeding that of any man or body of men, and yields allegiance to that authority. In Christian environment such allegiance expresses itself in the acceptance of Christ as the leader of life.

But one may do all this and still be a legalist. As distinguished from legalism, intelligent spirituality involves the recognition of the fact that no code that ever was written can fully express the moral obligations of life, or has in itself the moral dynamic to make men good. This law cannot do in that it is weak through the flesh. The solution of the problem of life must be found not in a body of rules long enough and minute enough to cover each possible exigency of life, but in a principle simple and single, yet covering the whole of life and in a spiritual force that gives this principle controlling power.

Because these things are so, intelligent spirituality involves thoughtfulness. The legalist may in more or less mechanical fashion follow out the rules of his code. But the acceptance of a single principle of conduct entails thinking that one may act in accordance with the principle in the constantly varying exigencies of life. Spirituality thus demands intellectuality. The spiritually minded man cannot remain uneducated. He may not have great store of knowledge, but he must be thoughtful, and thoughtfulness in the application of moral principles to life is itself an education.

But the moral problems of life cannot be met by thoughtfulness alone. Virtue must become spontaneous. Action must often be instantaneous with no time for reflection and balancing of arguments. Right action must become a habit, the natural response of the soul to the situation, however suddenly arising. Such a habit is the product of two influences. It demands on the one hand solitude and receptivity; on the other, vigorous activity. It is cultivated by meditation upon the highest ideals of life, which find their noblest embodiment in the life and teachings of Christ and of those who have walked most closely in the footsteps of the Master. It calls for fellowship with

God in prayer, a rooting of the personal life deep in the life of the Eternal Father. Every strong life must have its mystical side—its indefinable but real fellowship with the divine.

But for its development such character demands activity also. Of the two relations between conduct and character—for character is both product and cause of conduct—the influence of conduct on character has been in the past too little emphasized. Educators have done well to remind us that we learn by doing. It has been rightly insisted that to bring forth good fruit the tree must itself be good. But it has sometimes been forgotten that character without conduct is wholly inert and valueless, and that character is itself as truly the product of doing as doing of character.

The establishment of the principle of love for one's neighbor, the recognition of the fact that his well-being is as valuable and as deserving of consideration as one's own, not as a theoretically beautiful proposition, but as the ruling force in one's life, converted by repeated doing into a fixed habit and dominant impulse—this is the remedy, the only adequate remedy, for the tendency to lawlessness which exists wherever there is liberty. This is the only effective corrective.

Will it be said that such a remedy is utopian, and that we must find some shorter route by which to reach our end? It is true that the state must continue to enforce law and to punish law-breakers. It is true also that Christian teachers must insist, as Paul did, upon obedience to civil law as imperatively demanded by the principle of love to one's neighbor. But the greater need, nevertheless, is for character and principle that will respond to such an appeal; any corrective of the evil which falls short of this is only healing the hurt of the people slightly. The only adequate remedy for lawlessness is the Christian character that is developed by intelligent spirituality.

JERUSALEM IN BIBLE TIMES

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XII. JERUSALEM IN NEW TESTAMENT TIMES

In spite of Herod's undertakings the general appearance of the city remained the same as it had been in earlier times. The southeast hill, or Lower City, was inclosed with its original line of fortifications, and was known as the City of David, or the Akra. In it the Tomb of David was still shown (*Ant.*, xiii, 8:4; xvi, 7:1; *War*, i, 2:5; Acts 2:29). The name Ophel still clung to the region immediately south of the Temple (*War*, v, 4:2; 6:1; vi, 6:3). The Temple stood on the same spot as Solomon's Temple, and was defended on the north with the wall that Solomon had built. The southwest hill, or Upper City, was still inclosed on the north and west with Solomon's wall (No. 2) and on the south with Hezekiah's wall (No. 3). The ancient gates were still in use, although their names seem to have changed. The Mishneh, or Second Quarter, added by Manasseh's second wall on the north (No. 4), was still a distinct part of the city and was known as the Fore-City or Suburb (*προάστειον*). Many of the Old Testament names for places in the vicinity were still in common use. Among these may be mentioned Kidron (John 18:1; *War*, v, 2:3; 6:1; 12:2; vi, 3:2), Gihon (*Ant.*, vii, 14:5), Siloam (Luke 13:4; John 9:7; *War*, v, 4:1; 9:4; 12:2; vi, 7:2; 8:5 *et al.*), Solomon's Pool (*War*, v, 4:2), and the Mount of Olives (Matt. 21:1; 24:3; Mark 13:3; 14:26; Luke 19:29, 37; 21:37; 22:39; John 8:1; Acts 1:12; *Ant.*, xx, 8:6; *War*, v, 2:3, 4, 5; 3:5). On the whole, Jerusalem in the time of Christ was still practically the same city that it had been in pre-exilic times, and was full of interesting associations for one familiar with the Old Testament. As Jesus walked its streets, or looked down upon it from the surrounding hills, he must often have been reminded of the kings, prophets, and psalmists of ancient Israel.

On account of the hostility of the Jewish authorities, Jesus never took up his abode in Jerusalem. Nazareth remained his home, and

he came to the capital only for occasional visits. For this reason the connections of the gospel history with the holy city are fewer than might have been expected. The first three references are to the Temple. Luke 2:22–39 records that when Jesus was thirty-four days old he was brought to be presented in the Temple with a sacrifice of a pair of turtle-doves according to the law of Lev. 12:6, and was blessed by the aged Simeon and Anna who recognized in him the long expected Messiah. This presentation must have taken place in the Court of the Women. It probably occurred at the Beautiful Gate, where a flight of steps led up to the Court of Israel. Here the priest received the offerings from the mother and carried them to be sacrificed on the altar.

The second visit, as narrated in Luke 2:41–50, was at the feast of Passover, when Jesus was twelve years of age. On this occasion he must have entered the Court of the Men of Israel with Joseph, and have performed the ceremony by which he assumed the obligations of an adult Israelite.

The third visit is the one narrated in John 2:13–22 immediately after Jesus' first appearance as a teacher in Galilee:

> And the Passover of the Jews was at hand, and Jesus went up to Jerusalem. And he found in the Temple those that sold oxen and sheep and doves, and the changers of money sitting: and he made a scourge of cords, and cast all out of the Temple, both the sheep and the oxen; and he poured out the changers' money, and overthrew their tables; and to them that sold the doves he said, Take these things hence; make not my Father's house a house of merchandise. . . . . The Jews therefore answered and said unto him, What sign showest thou unto us, seeing that thou doest these things? Jesus answered and said unto them, Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up. The Jews therefore said, Forty and six years was this temple in building, and wilt thou raise it up in three days?

The stalls of the traders and money-changers must have been situated in the Great, or Outer Court of the Temple, the Court of the Gentiles, and were probably near the chief entrances. If, as is commonly supposed, the concluding words of the Jews refer to the literal Temple and not to Jesus' body, they are an indication that this event occurred in 26 A. D., since the Temple was begun by Herod in 20 B. C.

The fourth visit, as recorded in John 5, was at the time of an unnamed feast. On this occasion Jesus healed a lame man at the Pool of Bethesda. In a previous discussion of the location of the Pool

of Bethesda,[1] reasons were given for holding that Bethesda is to be identified with the Gihon of the Old Testament, the modern Virgin's Fount in the Kidron Valley south of the Temple.

The fifth visit (John 7:1—10:21) was at a feast of Tabernacles. Entering into the Temple he taught "in the treasury" (John 8:20). The expression "treasury" seems to refer to the large boxes with trumpet-shaped mouths for gathering alms that stood on either side of the Court of the Women. As he was leaving the Temple Jesus saw a man blind from his birth, and after anointing his eyes with clay, he said to him, "Go, wash in the Pool of Siloam." The man went and washed, and returned with his eyesight restored (John 9:1–7). Siloam is the pool, so often mentioned in the Old Testament, that lay at the mouth of the Tyropoeon Valley.[2]

The sixth visit (John 10:22–42) was at the feast of the Dedication in winter. Jesus was walking in Solomon's Porch, the eastern cloister of the Outer Court of the Temple, when the Jews came to him and began to discuss the old subject of his messianic claims. His assertion of oneness with the Father so enraged them that they sought to kill him, and he was compelled to withdraw himself beyond the Jordan.

The seventh and final visit of Jesus to Jerusalem was at the time of the last Passover. On Palm Sunday he made his triumphal entry into the city, coming from Bethany over the Mount of Olives. The gate by which he would naturally enter the Temple would be the eastern one. This was the Gate Shushan that lay on the site of the modern Golden Gate.[3] On Sunday, Monday, and Tuesday of Passion Week Jesus taught in the Temple.

On Wednesday he rested at Bethany, and on Thursday he once more entered Jerusalem to eat the Last Supper with his disciples. The place chosen was an "upper room" (Mark 14:15; Luke 22:12). The subsequent mention of the young man who accompanied Jesus to the Garden of Gethsemane, and who left his garment in the hands of the rabble and fled naked (found only in Mark 14:51 f.) suggests

[1] Article III, *Biblical World*, March, 1907, pp. 180-82.

[2] See Article III, *Biblical World*, March, 1907, pp. 179 f.

[3] See Schick, *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästinavereins*, Vol. XXII (1899), pp. 94–101; *Biblical World*, August, 1907, pp. 12 f.

that the young man was Mark the evangelist, and that the "upper room" was in the house of Mary, the mother of Mark. The place where the disciples met during the interval between the crucifixion and the ascension (Luke 24:33; John 20:19; Mark 16:14) is in Acts 1:13 called "the upper room where they were abiding." There is no reason to doubt that it was the same "upper room" in which the Last Supper was eaten. Here "all with one accord continued stedfast in prayer, with the women, and Mary the mother of Jesus, and with his brethren" (Acts 1:14). Here Matthias was chosen to fill the place of Judas (Acts 1:26). Here the Spirit descended on the day of Pentecost (Acts 2:1–4). Subsequently (Acts 12:12) we are told that Peter, after his escape from prison, "came to the house of Mary, the mother of John whose surname was Mark; where many were gathered together and were praying." This confirms the conjecture that the Last Supper was celebrated at the house of the mother of Mark, and shows that it continued to be used as a meeting-place by the infant church in Jerusalem. Now Epiphanius[4] declares that when Hadrian visited Jerusalem (in 132 A. D.),

> He found the whole city cast down to the ground, and the Temple of God trodden under foot, except a few buildings and the little church of God on the spot where the disciples, returning after the ascension of the Savior from the Mount of Olives, had gone up to the upper room; for there it had been built, that is, in the quarter of Zion, the church which had survived the destruction and parts of the building on Zion.

There is no difficulty in supposing that memory of the location of the mother-church of Christendom survived the fall of Jerusalem; and that when the Christians returned to the city, they held their assemblies on the ancient site. The church seen by Hadrian may well have been the lineal descendant of the original church. From this time onward there is an unbroken chain of tradition identifying the so-called Cenaculum, at the southern end of the western hill, with the first church of Jerusalem and the "upper room" of the disciples. In this case, at least, ecclesiastical tradition seems to be trustworthy, and it is probable that in the Cenaculum we have the genuine scene of the Last Supper. The building now lies outside of the city-wall, and is in the hands of the Moslems, who call it the Tomb of the Prophet David. In the

[4] *De Pond. et Mes.*, xiv (ed. Dindorff, iv, 17).

center of the complex of Arab buildings are remains of an ancient Christian church.[5]

From the Last Supper Jesus went out across the brook Kidron to the Garden of Gethsemane (John 18:1). Kidron is the stream so often mentioned in the Old Testament as lying east of the Temple, and the Garden of Gethsemane must have been one of the numerous olive groves that covered the western slope of the Mount of Olives. The traditional Greek and Latin Gethsemanes have no ancient tradition in their favor, but are doubtless in substantially the correct position.

In the garden Jesus was arrested and was taken to the palace of the ex-high-priest Annas (John 18:12), and thence to the palace of Caiaphas, the actual high-priest (John 18:24). Tradition finds the palace of Annas in the vicinity of Herod's Palace, and the palace of Caiaphas a little north of the Cenaculum. This is substantially correct, since the high-priests of this period are known to have had their residences on the southwest hill. The house of Ananias, son of Annas, was burned at the same time with the Maccabean Palace (*War*, ii, 17:6).

From Caiaphas Jesus was taken to the Praetorium to be tried before Pilate (John 18:28 ff.; 19:9; Matt. 27:27; Mark 15:16). Tradition identifies this with the Castle of Antonia at the northwest corner of the Temple inclosure, but the best modern authorities are agreed that it is rather to be identified with Herod's Palace. All the Roman procurators of whom we have any record occupied the Palace when they were administering the government in Jerusalem. Thus Sabinus was quartered here in 4 B. C., during the interval between the death of Herod and the confirmation of Archelaus (*Ant.*, xvii, 9:3; *War*, ii, 2:2). In like manner in 66 A. D. Florus was stationed here. It is highly probable that it was also the residence of Pilate. In fact, the description of the trial of Jesus bears the closest resemblance in its local color to the trial of the Jews before Florus (*War*, ii, 14:8 f.). The Pavement (John 19:13) was doubtless the open place in front of

[5] See Zahn, "Die *Dormitio Sanctae Virginis* und das Haus des Johannes Markus," *Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift*, Vol. X (1899), pp. 377 ff.; Mommert, *Die Dormitio und das deutsche Grundstück auf dem traditionellen Zion;* Sanday, *Sacred Sites of the Gospels*, pp. 77–87.

the Palace. In this case the Via Dolorosa, leading from Antonia to the Church of the Sepulchre, must be regarded as spurious.[6]

From the Praetorium Jesus was sent by Pilate to Herod Antipas, king of Galilee (Luke 23:6–12). After Judea became a Roman province, and the procurators took possession of Herod's Palace, the princes of the Herodian family resided in the old Palace of the Hasmoneans whenever they visited Jerusalem. Here dwelt Agrippa II in 66 A. D., when he came up to try to pacify the Jews (*Ant.*, xx, 8:11; *War*, ii, 16:3). Here also we must suppose that Herod Antipas was quartered when he visited Jerusalem at the time of the Passover.

Herod Antipas sent Jesus back to Pilate at Herod's Palace, and Pilate sentenced him to death. Jesus was then led *outside* of the city wall to be crucified (Matt. 27:32; Mark 15:20; John 19:17–20; Heb. 13:12), and was buried "in the place where he was crucified" (John 19:41). The traditional site of the crucifixion and entombment is the Church of the Holy Sepulchre on the northern hill of Jerusalem. The historical evidence for this site is neither very old nor very trustworthy. Eusebius[7] tells us that Constantine (in 326 A. D.) sent orders to Macarius, bishop of Jerusalem, to search for the true cross. He nowhere tells us that Macarius knew a tradition in regard to the location of Golgotha; in fact, he expressly informs us that the tomb of Christ was found "contrary to expectation;" and later historians assert that the discovery of the spot was miraculous. When one considers the ease with which holy places have been identified and are still identified by interested ecclesiastics, one is not sure that Macarius must have had the best of historical evidence before he gratified the emperor by informing him that the True Cross and the Holy Sepulchre had been discovered. From the time of Constantine onward there is an unbroken chain of evidence connecting the basilica that Constantine reared over the supposed Sepulchre with the modern Church of the Holy Sepulchre, but that does not help to bridge the gap between Constantine and the time of Christ. The traditional evidence here is evidently of a very different sort from that which is offered in support of the Cenaculum. All that can be said is, that if the site of the Church

[6] See Spiess, *Das Jerusalem des Josephus*, p. 23; Kreyenbühl, *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, Vol. III (1902), pp. 15–22.

[7] *Life of Constantine*, iii. 25 f.

of the Sepulchre lay outside of the second wall on the north, which was the outer wall in the time of Christ, then it is possible that it marks the scene of the crucifixion and entombment. This is more than doubtful, since no satisfactory archaeological evidence has yet been produced of the existence of a second wall on the north *inside* of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. In 1884 Schick, in the service of the Russian Palestine Society, traced a hypothetical second wall inside



Photograph by L. B. Paton

CONJECTURAL SITE OF GOLGOTHA

of the Sepulchre. This wall has found a place on a number of recent maps, but the most competent Jerusalem archaeologists are agreed that there is no proof that the masonry which Schick found ever belonged to a city wall. In a previous discussion of the course of Manasseh's wall[8] the evidence has been presented which goes to show that the second wall on the north (No. 4 on the plan) followed substantially the line of the present north wall of the city. In that case the site of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre lay inside of the

[8] Article IX, *Biblical World*, September, 1907, pp. 173–78.

city-wall in the time of Christ, and, therefore, cannot be the true scene of the crucifixion and entombment.[9] Where the real place was must always remain a matter of conjecture. Many have thought that the bare rocky hill north of the city, outside of the Damascus gate, which bears a singular resemblance to a skull, is the true Golgotha, or "Place of the Skull," where the crucifixion took place, and that a rock-hewn tomb at the foot of this hill was the place of burial. All that can be said in support of this theory is, that this hill looks like a skull and that it lay outside of the city-wall in the time of Christ.

The final scene of our Lord's earthly life was the ascension. According to Acts 1:12 this took place from the Mount of Olives ("over against Bethany," Luke 24:50). This is the well-known mountain on the east side of Kidron opposite to the Temple.

During the period between the death of Christ and the fall of Jerusalem the most important architectural undertaking was the erection of the third wall on the north in 40–41 A. D. by Agrippa I. This wall is described by Josephus (*War*, v, 4:2) as beginning at the Tower Hippicus at the northwest corner of the Old City, running thence to the Tower Psephinus, thence past the monument of Helena, queen of Adiabene, through the Royal Caverns, past the Fuller's Monument, to the northeast angle of the Temple. If, as we have seen, the second wall on the north must be identified substantially with the present north wall of the city, then Agrippa's wall must be sought outside of this line. In 1838 Robinson found numerous large stones that he believed to have belonged to it still extant in the fields north of Jerusalem, and he was able to plot its course from the northwest corner of the city to the Nâblus Road. Old residents of Jerusalem well remember the time when great drafted stones such as Robinson observed were to be seen in the open country to the north. The growth of the modern city has, however, obliterated all these remains. For a distance of a third of a mile from the present north wall the land has been thickly covered with houses, and the ancient stones have been broken up to use as building material. Yet, in spite of this work of destruction, traces of this wall still occasionally turn up, and in the side of a cistern

[9] See Wilson, *Golgotha and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre;* Paton, "The Third Wall of Jerusalem and Some Excavations on Its Supposed Site," *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. XXIV (1905), pp. 199–205.

east of the Nâblus Road and back of St. Stephen's Church three great drafted stones are still visible that may have belonged to it. On the strength of this evidence I have followed Robinson in plotting the course of this wall (No. 5) on the map.[10]

The region added to the city by this wall was known as the New City, and included the Bezetha quarter north of the Temple. In it were situated the Camp of the Assyrians, where Titus encamped after



Photograph by L. B. Paton

STONES THAT MAY HAVE BELONGED TO AGRIPPA'S WALL

the capture of the outer wall (*War*, v, 7:3), the Wood Market (*War*, ii, 19:4), the Wool Market, the Bazaar of the Smiths, and the Clothes Market (*War*, v, 8:1), in regard to whose precise location nothing very definite can be said.

Other buildings of the sam period as Agrippa's wall were the Palace of Bernice, the sister of Agrippa II (*War*, ii, 17:6), which

[10] See Robinson, *Biblical Researches in Palestine*, Vol. I, pp. 465 ff.; Merrill, "A Section of Agrippa's Wall," *Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statement*, 1903, pp. 158 f.; Paton, "The Third Wall of Jerusalem and Some Excavations on its Supposed Site," *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. XXIV (1905), pp. 205–11.

was situated near the Palace of the Hasmoneans; the Palace of Helena, queen of Adiabene, a convert to Judaism, who took up her abode on the southeast hill in 46 A. D. (*War*, v, 6:1; vi, 6:3); the Palace of Monobazus, her son, in the same quarter (*War*, v, 6:1); and the Palace of Grapte, a relative of King Izates of Adiabene, also on the southwest hill, but near the Temple (*War*, iv, 9:11). Agrippa also enlarged the Maccabean Palace by the addition of a great banquet-



Photograph by L. B. Paton

TOMBS OF THE KINGS

hall, from which he could observe all that went on in the Temple. To prevent this the Jews built a high wall on the west side of the Temple. Agrippa and Festus, the procurator, tried to have it removed, but Nero at the request of Poppaea allowed it to remain (*Ant.*, xx, 8:11). The tomb erected by Helena of Adiabene for herself and her family lay near the third wall on the north (*War*, v, 4:2; *Ant.*, xx, 4:3). It is doubtless to be identified with the so-called "Tombs of the Kings" near the residence of the Anglican bishop.

In 66 A. D. the war of rebellion against the Romans broke out, and

in 70 A. D. the siege of the city was begun by Titus. After a long and stubborn resistance, which necessitated that every wall and every quarter of the town should be conquered separately, the city at last fell in September, 70 A. D. The Temple and other principal buildings were burned, and Titus gave orders that the city should be razed to the ground, except the wall inclosing Herod's Palace, that was left as a fortress for the Roman garrison. With this event ancient Jerusalem came to an end. Up to this time the life of the city had been uninterrupted, in spite of all the disasters that had befallen it, and the thread of historical tradition in regard to localities had not been severed; but after this event there was no longer any continuity with the past. When, sixty years later, Hadrian built Aelia Capitolina upon the site of Jerusalem, there was little left to remind one of the former city, and no one to transmit the memory of its greatness. Aelia was a new city without connection with its predecessor. At this point, accordingly, which coincides with the latest references in the New Testament, it is proper that we should conclude our study of Jerusalem in Bible times.

THE RELATION OF BIBLICAL TO SYSTEMATIC THEOLOGY

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It is not many years since the term theology, used without qualification, was, in this country at least, understood to mean systematic theology. If there existed here and there a chair of biblical theology, this title did not designate a different discipline from that which elsewhere was called systematic theology, but only indicated a desire to put emphasis upon the Bible as the great source for theology. In more recent years, however, following the Germans in this as in many other things, we have adopted the term biblical theology to designate a branch of study distinct from systematic theology. To many no doubt the distinction between the two fields of study is perfectly clear, and any discussion of their interrelation wholly superfluous. Yet one constantly encounters evidence that the relation is still hazily defined in some minds, even in quarters where one would least expect to find it. It is probably not an instance of such haziness that the veteran Berlin theologian, Professor Bernhard Weiss, who published years ago his work on *The Biblical Theology of the New Testament*, has recently issued an entirely new volume bearing the title *The Religion of the New Testament*, in which he endeavors to set forth the unity underlying that diversity of doctrine which his previous volume had exhibited. But in the publication of such a book, which is neither biblical theology in the modern sense, nor systematic theology proper, the general reader is likely to find occasion of stumbling and confusion of thought as to where the line is drawn between biblical and systematic theology.

Moreover, to fix a boundary is not always to define relations, as diplomats have often had occasion to discover. The present article has been written in the hope of contributing somewhat to clearness of thought on both these points: the line of demarcation and the relation between the two fields of study, biblical theology and sys-

tematic theology. Its form, that of a series of theses, is not, in the intention of the writer at least, expressive of a dogmatic spirit or attitude toward the problem, but is adopted in the interest of clearness and brevity. What is here set forth may be regarded as a hypothesis the validity of which is to be determined, not by proving each proposition, but by its ability as a whole to satisfy the data of the problem.

1. Biblical theology is a historical science, having to do with the history of biblical thought, i. e., the history of the religious experience and thinking of men so far as it is reflected in or discoverable from the Bible and other literature closely connected therewith. It is a part of the history of the Hebrew people. In its New Testament portion it is a part of the history of Christianity, specifically of the beginnings of Christian thought. It deals not with facts in isolation or the mere cataloguing of facts, but like all history seeks out relations, causal and influential connections.

2. Systematic theology cannot be defined without including a reference to its purpose. It is a normative science in the sense that it seeks to ascertain not what happened in the past, but what is now and constantly true. For however the theologian may confess that his interpretation of the world is likely to be superseded in the thought of those who come after him, so that his work is for his own generation and is not intended to bind the thought of succeeding generations, yet what he is *seeking* is the unchanging facts and possible attainments in the realm of religious experience. His theology is his attempt to state the permanent realities of religion. Aiming first at clearness and correctness of thought in this sphere, it seeks through such clear and correct thinking to promote the development of religious life. In its specific form of Christian theology it concerns itself especially with the experience of men under Christianity, finding in this field its chief data, and aiming at the development and rational control of religious experience of the Christian type.

Systematic theology assumes that there is such a thing as human religious experience, that it is worthful and capable of development, and that it may be developed through a knowledge of past experience. In its specific form of Christian theology it builds upon the conviction that Hebrew and Christian experience is in the large an

exceptionally high type of religious experience and therefore exceptionally worthy of study for the development of experience.

3. Biblical theology has as its principal sources the books of the Bible. Biblical criticism and biblical interpretation are prerequisites to the successful accomplishment of its task, the former to determine the order of the component elements of the literature, the latter to discover their meaning. As adjuncts of its work it requires: (*a*) biblical history in the more external sense of the word; (*b*) knowledge of contemporary history and thought in so far as these in any way influenced Hebrew and Christian biblical thought; and (*c*) psychological insight to distinguish between testimony to experience and interpretation of experience, in order through the latter to reach the former, and to discover possible or probable connections of thought. In part because of this dependence of biblical theology upon other sciences, and the practical impossibility of attaining completeness or perfection in these sciences, biblical theology can never do more than to achieve its aim approximately.

4. Systematic theology has its only possible source in human experience as known either through the consciousness of the theologian or through credible testimony or trustworthy historical record. Revelation is no exception to this statement, since only as it enters into experience can it become a source of knowledge. Even the incarnation is no exception. For if incarnation means to us a man in whom the Spirit of God dwelt in all fulness, then it is only through his human experience of God communicated to men that they can learn of God and his relation to men. If it means to us God dwelling in human flesh, it is only through human experience that that God can be attested to men as God or enter into communication with them. Historic facts are no exception; for the records of the past are either recorded experiences or recorded interpretations of experience. Since this is so, it is evident that systematic theology as well as biblical theology is in large measure dependent on the results of historical study. Yet inasmuch as experience is not all in the recorded past, but is a present possession also, systematic theology is only in part dependent on recorded history, while biblical theology is wholly so. The fundamental difference, however, is that biblical theology reaches its goal in what is historically true, while systematic theology

is not systematic theology at all until it discovers what furnishes such evidence of being normatively true as to commend itself as such to men of the present.

These preliminary definitions of the two sciences and their respective sources bring us to our subject: What is the relation of biblical to systematic theology? More specifically, How does biblical theology make its contribution to systematic theology? We answer:

5. Biblical theology cannot make its contribution to systematic theology on the basis of the assumption that all the convictions held by those who have been, so to speak, the bearers of the Hebrew and Christian religious experience are true and can be built upon in present-day experience. For not only have we no positive and sufficient ground for affirming the perfect normality of these experiences and convictions, but we have positive reason for not affirming such normality in the fact that these convictions are in many cases mutually contradictory.

6. Systematic theology cannot construct its system simply from those things on which all biblical writers are agreed, for in many particulars it is precisely those things on which the biblical writers are not in agreement on which we most need clear convictions for the direction of our lives.

7. Systematic theology cannot assume that the movement of thought which is reflected in the Bible and which it is the business of biblical theology to trace out and expound is an evolution in which each succeeding stage represents a closer approximation to the truth. For if this is assumed it is pure assumption; if it is affirmed as proved, it is in the face of the facts and the evidence. It would put Paul above Jesus and the Apocalypse above them both. It would logically issue in accepting the present-day thought as the highest and making the study of biblical thought itself unnecessary for the purpose of systematic theology. Moreover, the stream of biblical thought has at times turned back upon itself, thought recurring to earlier forms. The theory thus issues in the contradiction that *a* is higher than *b* and *b* higher than *a*.

8. Systematic theology cannot make the convictions of any single person or group of persons an ultimate standard by which the judgments and experiences of all others are to be tested or the norm to

which all present-day and future experiences should conform. For if it assumes this *a priori*, the whole system begins in an assumption and is without stable foundation. If it affirms this on the ground of evidence establishing the normative character of the experiences and convictions of this one person, then either in this very process it assumes a standard outside this person by comparison with which it is enabled to affirm the normative character of his experience and convictions, and in that case he is no longer the standard; or it conceives that the normality of this person is established by authoritative testimony, in which case again the ultimate authority is outside this person; or the normality of this one person's experience is supposed to be established by external evidence; but it is impossible to see how any strictly external evidence can establish such a proposition. Of course if this claim is to be made it will be made on behalf of Christ, or Christ and his apostles, and with most probability surely on behalf of Christ. Shall this claim be based upon the supernatural birth? But even aside from the impossibility of proving historically that his birth was supernatural and the fact that he himself based no claim of authority on the facts respecting his origin and birth, it is impossible to see how the substitution of a special exercise of divine power for human paternity can guarantee infallible teaching. Then Adam, assuming for a moment the point of view of the Genesis writer, is doubly guaranteed as infallible, for in his case divine power takes the place of both maternity and paternity. Will the miracles that Jesus wrought give us the necessary basis? But no ability to do extraordinary deeds even though they be miracles by the mediaeval definition, events contrary to or outside of natural law, can prove inerrancy in teaching or absolute normality of experience. The gospels record that Jesus admitted that his contemporaries wrought miracles, but he certainly did not concede their authority in religion. Shall the claim be based on his resurrection? The same answer must be made as respecting his supernatural birth. Shall it rest upon his deity? But the New Testament forbids us to affirm of him unconditioned deity, affirming that it was conditioned by humanity, and it is impossible to say *a priori* that such conditioning would not carry with it limitation of knowledge and possibility of error in judgment. Shall we then base the claim on the total worth,

dignity, strength, purity, of his life and teachings—what the Gospel of John calls his glory? Then we possess outside of him a standard of worth, dignity, purity, and the like by which we try him, and that standard is the real ultimate of our thinking.

Let it be observed that we are not denying to Jesus infallibility of teaching, least of all affirming abnormality of character. What is affirmed is that since no external evidence can of itself establish his infallibility, the very affirmation of it itself assumes a standard of judgment which is thereby made more ultimate as a test than Christ himself. This brings us to recognize that—

9. An absolute external standard is not to be found. Only he who has himself a religious experience and who is able to distinguish better from worse in experience can even begin the process of constructing a system of theology. A dog cannot theologize unless the dog is a very different creature from what we have usually supposed him to be. A non-religious man, one without religious experience and incapable of it, might conceivably construct a biblical theology, though he would certainly be greatly embarrassed in the task and handicapped by the lack of sympathy and insight which personal experience alone could give. But such a man would be wholly incapable of work in systematic theology.

A man, himself the subject of religious experience and knowing that experience capable of betterment or degradation, possesses in this experience a base line, a yardstick, a thermometer—use what figure you will—a criterion by which he may form a notion of the value of other experiences, be moved to avoid some and to aspire after others which he has not yet himself possessed. And such appreciation in turn begets experience, for appreciation is itself an experience. In such appreciation is the basis of possibility both for betterment of experience, and for the organized statement of what makes for betterment. Here, then, is the beginning of theology. But this is only the beginning. For—

10. Experiences are capable not only of estimation but also of interpretation or explanation, and because of this fact they may yield us not only value-judgments but existential judgments also. Just as in every other field of experience and knowledge, so here we set up hypotheses as to the cause of our experience. God is such a hypothe-

sis; the possibility of human fellowship with him is another. And these hypotheses we test, judging of them according as they unify experience or tend to confusion and defeat; according as the holding of them makes for the betterment or the degeneration of experience.

11. But through experience and the estimation and explanation of it we also arrive in turn at estimates of other persons and of their theological judgments. He whose experience is such as we have found good, or which in some way akin to ours is yet better than ours, or such as being emulated by others tends to their betterment, such a man is, we judge, himself good. He whose interpretations of experience make for logical unification of experience, or for the betterment of experience in those who accept them, is, we judge, wise. Him whom we have found good and wise where we could test him, we judge to be good and wise even when we have no opportunity to test him.

12. Thus we arrive at a twofold type of judgment: (*a*) a judgment of experiences and interpretations of experience by our own experiences and interpretations of experience, and (*b*) a judgment of persons by our judgments of their experiences and judgments. And through this judgment of persons we are able again indirectly to arrive at a judgment of experiences and judgments. The experiences of the good man we presume to be good, the judgments of the wise man we presume to be true.

13. But the term experience must not be taken in a narrow, individualistic sense. Nations have experiences as well as men. An experience begun in one generation may be completed in another, and its deepest meaning may be wholly missed by the interpreter who fails to connect together the beginning and the end and all the intermediate steps. The sins of the fathers are visited upon the children unto the third and fourth generation. The aspirations and hopes of one age find fulfilment in a far later one. A great event, such as the Babylonian captivity, or the death of Jesus, becomes a generator of experience and a stimulus to interpretation for generations thereafter. The theologian therefore must not narrow his vision to experiences or the interpretation of experiences that begin and end within the soul of one man or even the life time of a generation. Nor can the systematic theologian limit his vision to the experiences of Israel as recorded in the Bible. All human experience belongs to

him, and his field is far wider than that of the biblical theologian. Moreover in the biblical field itself, the systematic theologian is not wholly dependent upon biblical theology. For the latter does not strictly speaking undertake the interpretation of events for itself. Such interpretation is as legitimate a part of the modern study of the Bible as of the work of the ancient prophet, and its assured results are legitimate material for systematic theology. But the process does not strictly belong to biblical theology, which is concerned only to write a history of biblical experience and thought.

14. This leads us to a restatement of the content of systematic theology. It is composed of judgments concerning what is, what is possible, what is good, in the sphere of religion. Its judgments are in part existential judgments which are reached through the explanations of experience and the subsequent verification of these explanations. They are in part value-judgments of experience, which are reached in part through observation of the effect of the experiences in question, in part on the basis of an estimation of the persons whose the experiences are, or who hold the judgments. Its field of experience is that of the race.

15. This in turn brings us back to the problem of the relation of biblical to systematic theology. The former gives us an orderly, historical account of the religious experiences of the men of Israel, and of the explanation of these experiences which were put forth by them, in part each explaining his own, in part the prophets explaining those of others. Now if to this history we bring an experience of our own and an acquired capacity for judging of experiences of others and of their explanations, we may estimate each part of this history by the double test of impersonal and of personal judgment. We may perhaps profitably classify our judgments, recognizing four classes: (*a*) Judgments that an experience is good or bad, making for or against well-being; (*b*) Judgments that an explanation of experience is probable or improbable; (*c*) Judgments that a person is good or bad, with a corresponding probability that his experience in a given particular is worthy or unworthy of emulation; (*d*) Judgments that a person is a wise or unwise interpreter of experience with a corresponding probability that his explanation or judgment is in a given case correct or incorrect. Of course the terms good and bad, wise

and unwise, are used and recognized as capable of covering many degrees of the quality which they denote.

16. But it is self-evident that the deeper and broader our own experience, the better fitted we shall be to form trustworthy judgments concerning experiences of others, concerning the interpretations of others, and the goodness and wisdom of others in general. It is not less evident that the broader our knowledge of the experience of the world, and the more we know of the richest and best experience of men, the more competent we shall be to form judgments in the sphere of theology. When to this we add that by general confession the Bible contains the richest record of religious experience that the world possesses, and that biblical theology is the orderly history of this experience and its interpretations by the great men of Israel, it follows that three things are of prime importance for the systematic theologian: (*a*) Deep personal experience; (*b*) Thorough knowledge of the Bible; (*c*) Broad knowledge of the history of Christian experience and of human experience in general.

17. What judgments concerning this history in general, and the great factors of it in particular, can one who possesses these qualifications pronounce? I certainly shall not claim to possess the necessary qualifications, but if I may venture to sum up the concurrent judgment of those who have possessed them, we may formulate the following propositions:

a) The experience recorded in the Bible is of exceptional character and of pre-eminent value in the generating and betterment of religious experience.

b) The judgments of the prophets of Israel based on these experiences are of varying value, but as a whole, of an exceptionally high order. The conception of God began perhaps at a relatively low point, yet reached an elevation and dignity unequaled in the history of human thought previously or elsewhere when unaffected by this thought.

c) This pre-eminent experience reaches its acme in Jesus Christ. He is *the* good man of the race.

d) This exceptionally valuable interpretation of experience also reaches its climax in Jesus. In the realm of religion and morals, strictly so called, he has led the experience of men since, and wherever put to

the test has been verified. In the realm of things closely related to religion the extent to which he accepted current ideas which have not stood the test of subsequent investigation has yet to be determined with accuracy.

e) For none of the prophets who preceded or followed Jesus can infallibility or inerrancy be claimed. The preliminary test by which we establish their general standing gives them high rank among religious thinkers, but does not obviate the necessity of testing each of their judgments separately.

18. In the teaching of the apostles we must distinguish: (*a*) Experiences; (*b*) Explanations of experience; (*c*) Opinions adopted from current thought and having no direct relation to their own religious experience. The last named, adopted opinions, may be correct, but they are to be estimated in view of their origin. Their own explanations of experience have the value that belongs to them as the explanations that commended themselves to intelligent and godly men who had themselves had the experiences. The experiences we may ourselves estimate and explain by the best light we possess.

19. In studying the teaching of Jesus it is necessary not only to make the distinctions named in the preceding section, but also to distinguish the teaching from the record of it. The latter may really be later than the former and reflect conceptions quite different from those of Christ himself.

20. In estimating values, account must be taken of: (*a*) The source of an opinion or explanation of experience; (*b*) The author's own valuation of the elements of his thought; (*c*) The general weight or value of the prophet or teacher; (*d*) The verification of the opinion or judgment in subsequent history or experience. These principles may be illustrated by Paul's eschatology. If we ascertain that this element of his thought was derived from current Jewish thinking directly or through the medium of primitive Christianity, and then ascertain that in the Jewish circles in which it originated it was the product of free imaginative speculation, with only its basis in their faith in God, this will properly enter into our valuation of it. If we judge that he himself attached little value to it, accepting it, but holding it with rather loose grip, as is the case, e. g., with his theory of the origin of sin in Adam, it will come to us with correspondingly less of

that weight, whatever it is, which we attach to it just because a man of his deep experience and keen thought held it. If subsequent history has wholly discredited it by the non-occurrence of the events which he anticipated, this fact must of course enter into our valuation both of this particular doctrine and of the men who held it. On the other hand, if Paul's doctrine of faith is found to be an immediate product of the apostle's profoundest experience, if he himself made it central in his own thinking and religious life, if our estimate of his thinking in the purely religious sphere is justly a high one, if the acceptance of this doctrine by others has vindicated it in the effect on their lives, our estimate of Paul's doctrine of faith will be very different from that which we have suggested for his eschatology. Numerous other illustrations might be given, as, for example, the Logos doctrine of John, Paul's doctrine of the eventual salvation of all Israel, baptismal regeneration, and the like.

21. Our whole position may be summed up in the statement that biblical theology furnishes a genetic account of the religious experiences and judgments of that race which has had the richest religious experience and the greatest interpreters of such experience of any race on earth. Systematic theology derives from it most valuable data as to what experiences are possible to men and women and the conditions of their occurrence; it estimates the value of these experiences and that of the judgment of these interpreters, criticizes opinions on the basis of their source, their author's estimate of them, and their verification in the experience of the race, and organizes the result in a systematic statement of normative truth with a view to the further development of the religious experience of men.

ANCIENT MONUMENTS IN THE LOUVRE MUSEUM ILLUSTRATIVE OF BIBLICAL HISTORY

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The Bible is an oriental book. It has come down to us from ancient oriental times, and is full of the spirit of those times. The characters who live and move through its pages were citizens or denizens of ancient provinces, kingdoms, or empires. They were parts of the life and activity of their days. They were imbued with the same spirit and were ambitious for the same power as their neighbors.

The Hebrews were merely one of the small peoples who occupied territory on the east coast of the Mediterranean Sea. But their location was so central that every land journey from Syria, Assyria, or Babylonia to Egypt, and vice versa, passed through Palestine. Such contact with traveling caravans between Asia and Africa gave the Hebrews information about those remoter nations. It also perpetuated among them many of the religious ideas and customs that ran counter to the teachings of Israel's religious leaders.

But the most striking external influence of these great nations of those days upon the people of Israel was wielded in the realm of politics. The Israelites were not strong enough to withstand the encroachments of any one of these peoples, such as Egypt, the Hittites, Assyria, and Babylonia. The territory of Israel was a bone of contention among the monarchs of those nations for many centuries. At one time it was under the sway of Egypt, at another under that of Assyria, at another under Babylon.

These international contacts of Israel are described in the Old Testament with varying degrees of fulness. Sometimes we have merely a hint, for example, in the case of Ahab's release of Benhadad at the battle of Aphek (I Kings 20:26–43), as to the possible supremacy of some approaching world-power (Shalmaneser II). At other times, the suzerainty of the outside ruler is confirmed by the exactions of

tribute paid by the suffering Hebrews (II Kings 15:19, 20). Again, the Hebrews are merely a province or colony under the imperial sway of some world-power, as after the return from exile, when Persia held the scepter.

These close relationships of Israel and her neighbors are not unnoticed in the records of some of her sovereign lords, and others. These mentionings, however, were not known until the last century, when explorers and excavators began to examine and dig into the remains of the civilizations of the long-ago vanished nations of southwestern Asia and Egypt. The ruins of those dead peoples have yielded up great quantities of antiquities for the reconstruction of ancient history, of a history hitherto merely conjectured or enveloped in the fogs of tradition or myth. Here and there in this mass of material we discover hints, allusions to, and direct mentionings of, the Israelites, and their relations to their overlords or suzerains.

We congratulate ourselves today that many of our great national, municipal, and private museums possess some of these old monuments, and have so mounted them that they are readily accessible to the public. The largest number of those that immediately illustrate the history of the Israelites is found in the British Museum, in London. Some of the best of these have been already described in this journal by Rev. C. H. W. Johns, of Cambridge.[1] Probably the next richest collection is that of the Louvre in Paris.

The first explorer to reward the munificence of the French government with a collection of Assyrian antiquities was Botta (1842–45), who uncovered the palace of Sargon II (722–705 B. C.) at Khorsabad. Since that day many French explorers in Asia and Egypt have made large returns to their government, and have greatly enriched the treasures of the Louvre. Among these antiquities we find some that concern every student of the Old Testament. They touch the law, history, politics, and religion of the Jews in several periods of history, and are admirable specimens of ancient civilization and art.

The periods of history which are illumined by the monuments in the Louvre are mainly the oldest and youngest eras of pre-Christian times. In other words, the oldest antiquities, touching 3800 B. C. to 2000 B. C., are relatively numerous and valuable. They embrace such

[1] *Biblical World*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 7 ff.

remains as inscriptions, statues, bricks, etc., which reveal in a wonderful way the advance already made in the art of writing and sculpture. The great "find" of the French government, of this class of antiquities, was made at Telloh in lower Babylonia. Since 1878, work has been carried on intermittently at this place, and has yielded a storehouse of stupendous surprises for every student of early Babylonian history and art. The material results of excavation on this site have added to the Louvre scores and hundreds of invaluable documents, nearly a dozen statues cut in black diorite stone, friezes, frescoes, and numerous other patterns.

The second period of which the Louvre possesses the largest display of antiquities is that of Sargon II (722–705 B. C.). The work of Botta at Khorsabad, already mentioned, has made the Assyrian section of the museum especially rich and valuable. The four immense colossi which are built into the north and south walls of the Assyrian room are justly the pride of that department.



FIG. 1.—THE STELE OF HAMMURABI

The third period most largely represented by antiquities in the Louvre is the Persian. The work of Dieulafoy and of de Morgan at Susa, since 1884, has yielded many tons of material of inestimable value for the reconstruction of this late period of Israel's history.

Now let us take a glance at some of the more important monuments found in the collections of the Louvre, whose figures or contents relate them to some phase of Old Testament study.

The first and oldest monument of that character is a little tablet attributed to Arioch of Ellasar. This ruler was called Rim-Sin, and was an Elamite who probably lived about 2285 B. C. His kingdom was later absorbed into the territory conquered and held by Hammurabi. His mention in Gen., chap. 14, locates him as one of the four allies who made war on the five kings of the valley of the Dead Sea.

Probably the climactic find of the French explorers was the discovery (in 1901–2) at Susa of the stele of Hammurabi,[2] founder of the united Babylonian empire about 2250 B. C. It appears that this piece of black diorite (Fig. 1), nearly eight feet high, had been carried off from Babylonia by the Elamites as a trophy of victory and deposited in their capital city and fortress. The interest that it possesses for the Old Testament lies in the fact that it is a codification of laws current in the days of Hammurabi, and that many of these closely resemble the laws of the Pentateuch. This one remarkable monument with its more than 247 laws intact will furnish material for the study and investigation of the Pentateuch for many years to come.

Another prize that one finds in the Louvre is the Moabite Stone (Fig. 2). The story of its discovery at Dibon, east of the Jordan, in 1868, its almost total destruction at the hands of the natives, and its rescue, restoration, and installation in this museum, is one of the most thrilling bits of archaeological adventure to be found in literature. Its mention of Omri, king of Israel, who maintained his authority over the Moabites, as recorded on this stone, about 850 B. C., gives it double interest from a historical point of view. Its language, too, is almost, if not entirely, Hebrew, ancient Hebrew at that, written in primitive characters, and expressed by the use of primitive idioms.

[2] Described by the writer in the *Biblical World*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 468 ff.



FIG. 2

Cuts of this now famous stone are to be found in almost every up-to-date teachers' Bible. In all such reproductions the blurred rough places mark the original stone, and the smooth, clear-cut characters, those restored with the use of squeezes taken before the breaking-up of the original by the natives of the land of Moab.



FIG. 3.—A MOABITE WARRIOR

The Moabites had close relationships, both racially and locally, with the Hebrews. They went to war against each other with little provocation, and never tired of harassing each other's country. The Louvre possesses a little bas-relief (Fig. 3) of a Moabite warrior, found in the land of Moab by the Duc de Luynes in 1854. It conveys a reasonable idea of how these hardy nomads, these shepherds of the eastern highlands of Palestine, armed themselves for battle. We remember how sturdily they maintained their land and cities against all intruders. It was by the use of just such warriors as the one in the accompanying illustration, that Moab was so long able to withstand the sword and the invasions of her neighbors.

In more than one period of Israel's history they and the Phoenicians were on familiar terms, both commercial and political. The land of Phoenicia, so accessible to all the great nations, took precautions to defend itself from its possible foes. Among the small bronzes of the Louvre there is one which represents a Phoenician soldier (Fig. 4).

He stands erect, is beardless, and has a pointed helmet on his head. His arms are raised as if they had originally grasped some weapon. The middle of his body is protected by a coat of mail, and his bearing is that of one ready to attack an enemy.

But one of the choicest prizes of the Louvre is that splendid collection of Assyrian monuments which represents one of the results of the work of Botta in the mound at Khorsabad near the site of old Nineveh (1842–45). The two end walls of the Assyrian room rest each on the backs of two monolithic colossi which were brought from Khorsabad, from the palace of Sargon II. This was the king who conquered Samaria in 722 B. C., and carried off the Hebrews as captives, 27,290 of them, and distributed them throughout the cities of Assyria and Media. The magnificence of his reign culminated in the erection and dedication of one of the most gorgeous palaces of the East, represented in the frontispiece, by a restoration, on the basis of the finds and measurements, by an architect. Each entrance to this royal palace was guarded by several of these tremendous colossi, representing the combined powers of a bull, an eagle, and a man. The entire structure covered an area of about twenty-five acres and was securely fortified by battlemented walls and turrets. Within the ruins of this palace were found large numbers of inscriptions and bas-reliefs illustrative of the reign of Sargon. The French government admirably recognized the value of these discoveries by publishing in five folio volumes the results of Botta's work, under the title, *Monument de Ninive.*



FIG. 4
A PHOENICIAN SOLDIER

The last years of the decline and fall of the Hebrew Kingdom are sparsely illustrated in the Louvre. Among the bronze statuettes we find, however, one that represents a sphinx of Hophra (588–

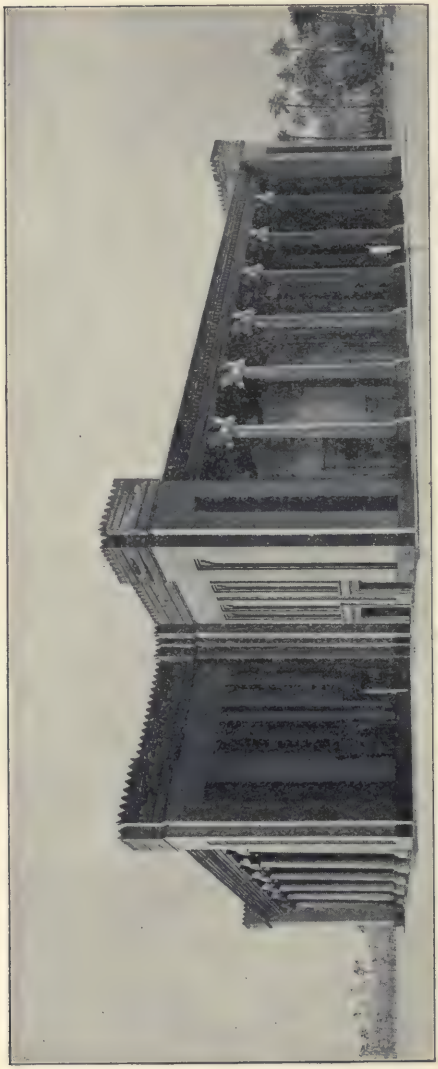


FIG. 5.—ESTHER'S PALACE
(From *The Monuments and the Old Testament*, by Ira M. Price)

569 B. C.), the king of Egypt who succeeded in enticing Zedekiah of Judah to join a league against Nebuchadrezzar, king of the Chaldeans. This revolt on the part of the Hebrew king, in response to the blandishments of Hophra, brought about the final siege and destruction of Jerusalem in 586.

But the periods which fairly gleam with new light from the Orient are those represented by the ruins of Susa, the ancient capital of the Elamites. The stupendous work of the Dieulafoys (1884–86), and since that time of M. de Morgan, has filled several rooms of the Louvre. The particular things that interest the Bible student, aside from the stele of Hammurabi, already mentioned, pertain to the times of the Persian kings. The ruins of that old city yielded bricks, burnt and glazed, statuettes, columns, capitals, frescoes, and a mass of other antiquities. There were no more beautiful objects discovered than the glazed bricks of different colors, which, when put together, completed a picture of the gorgeously arrayed bodyguard of Darius Hystaspes (521–484 B. C.). It will be recalled that this Darius so supported the Jewish colony in Palestine that the second temple was completed and dedicated in 516 B. C.

The excavators at Susa have concluded that the most noteworthy result of their work was the uncovering of the remains of the palace of Queen Esther, called the Apadana. So admirable are its proportions, and so regal its appointments that the authorities of the Louvre have spared no pains to reproduce in one of the Persian rooms the characteristic features of this palace. A sample capital has been erected on a short section of a column, and a model of the entire palace has been reproduced on the basis of its architectural proportions (Fig. 5).

In the same room we find another scene that fills one with admiration for the artistic skill of the Persians. A portion of the frescoe of one of the sides of the palace presents glazed bricks of various colors. Within this area, in imitation of bas-relief, but with appropriately colored bricks, they constructed a row of lions on the march, each with his mouth open and his tail carried at the defiant position. When we consider how many rôles the lion plays in the Old Testament, representing peoples, nations, and even Jehovah himself, these figures from the days of Queen Esther, set forth in such artistic forms, possess a double interest for students of the Bible.

SOCIAL DUTIES

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CHAPTER VII. SOCIAL DUTIES TO NEGLECTED CHILDREN

If we read the Bible with our eyes open to its meaning we gain a strong conviction that God cares for children. Nowhere in literature are there more touching and commanding words than those in which Jesus claims the protectorate of all the little ones on earth in the name of the Heavenly Father. If we walk through the streets of a modern town, or visit factories where children are employed, or hospitals where the victims of sin languish, we are startled and awakened by he spectacle of wrongs done to the innocent and helpless. But before a large community of comfortable people can actually be made to observe and think, many must be personally annoyed, vexed, injured, or shocked by some inhuman barbarity. Without standards of judgment kind persons have actually visited work-places and prisons where young persons have been ruined in health and morals without being shocked, because they did not understand the consequences of such conditions. For centuries Christians have permitted immature persons by the million to bear prematurely the burdens of long days of toil simply because they thought it was only natural and inevitable. More than a century of agitation in Christian England was necessary to abolish legally the employment of boys in sweeping out the long, crooked, suffocating chimneys, in which many were murdered after brutal tortures. Even tragic facts do not always move good men to act until they are induced to trace out the full consequence of social neglect. Observation is feeble and blind without imagination and judgment applied to the entire situation. The evils of child abuse sometimes require several generations of gradual degeneration to reveal themselves; and at the very moment a child is being destroyed it may be gay and buoyant. The dead tell no tales, and fresh victims conceal the insidious effects of social wrong. No one is so hopelessly blind as he who will not see and who curses the philanthropists for

interfering with a profit in human lives. And where there is profit in oppression of the speechless and cost in their redemption the great mass of the public is slow to move. Hence they who undertake to right the wrongs of childhood must delve below the surface of appearances, must gather facts from all sources, must see the entire situation in all its play of causes and effects.

1. DISCOVERY OF SIGNIFICANT FACTS

A Bible class may render service to Christ by taking up such a study in the state; but its members must go about the quest for facts with intelligence.

1. *Classification.*—Aimless groping in the dark discovers nothing; our inquiry must be systematic and directed to the subject. He who is looking for flowers finds them; he who seeks shells goes to the beach; the deer-hunter travels to the forest glades; the fisherman casts his bait in the stream.

a) We must look for the *neglected infant.* In all cities of considerable size may be found unscrupulous men and women who keep so-called hospitals, or baby-farms, where young unmarried mothers take refuge to hide their shame and then give over their unwanted babes into the hands of harpies who let them die of slow starvation or hasten death with drugs. These miserable people are in Germany grimly called "angel-makers," because they are supposed to send so many innocents to heaven by a short route. In these secret places of cities are often found betrayed girls from distant villages and country places; for not all human sin originates in cities. Many neglected infants remain with ignorant and often careless parents. Ignorance and extreme poverty are usually the cause of neglect and death of infants of poor married people. Usually the mother loves her babe if it remain with her, but destitution makes one hopeless and almost relieved when the little one passes away and there is one less mouth to feed.

b) Those who seek may find parents who are actually cruel; who hire their children out to wandering beggars or send them on the street to sell papers in wintry nights and beat them if they return without money. Many are hot-tempered and strike their children through caprice, while alcohol benumbs the moral sense and lets loose the

beast in man. Children so treated become vagabonds, beggars, thieves, and prostitutes.

c) We have already spoken of young children sent too early to work in factories before education is advanced, the bones strong, the muscular development complete.

d) We may also find defective children—the crippled, blind, deaf.

e) Here and there in every state are the abnormal—feeble minded, idiots, imbeciles, epileptics.

2. *How are we to extend our knowledge beyond the narrow bounds of personal observation?*—We may travel to other places and widen the area of observation, or we may send inquirers. In fact, however, this is not necessary, for the government is now making investigation which will bring out most of the essential facts throughout the nation; and such noble philanthropies as the Sage Fund will follow up these wide investigations with very careful and minute studies of particular localities.

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3. With the help of all these sources of information the student of social duties who will have ground for an independent judgment must consider, as fully as possible, all the facts relating to neglected children in the neighborhood, or state, or nation. The next step is to study with all completeness the causes of the conditions discovered; that is, what there is in the situation, earnings, habits, surroundings of the families which has led to such cruelty and harm. It is also necessary to consider the consequences of neglect: the preventable mortality of infants, the crippling and dwarfing of body, the want of education for life, the suffering which comes from thwarted desire of children to play and be happy without too early care, the consequent loss of vigor, earning power, and disposition to labor in later years, and the revolt against social order which inevitably arises where childhood is nothing but misery and grind. Such reflections upon facts observed or learned from any reliable source will surely start a desire to know what good

people have learned by experience as to the best methods of curing the evil and preventing the wrong. To this we now turn attention.

The man of science believes in law, not in chance, fate, guesswork, blundering without guidance of principles. Kind intentions are not a substitute for knowledge; gentle emotions are not full equipment for the service of neglected childhood. During hundreds of years of philanthropic activity the world has discovered certain methods of dealing with such needy ones and has learned that other methods are harmful and to be rejected. Success is not a matter of accident but of scientific method carried out by competent and earnest administrators. What are examples of such principles of guidance?

II. PRINCIPLES AND METHODS OF CARE OF NEGLECTED CHILDREN

It is here taken for granted that every child has a right to conditions favorable to health, education, morality, and, therefore, to food, play, parental love, maintenance, and good example. If every child has such rights then society has a duty to enforce them against the failure of parents or to supply the place of parental maintenance and education where these for any reason fail. The old English law more or less clearly implied this obligation and provided, though imperfectly, for the supervision of children. To deny this social obligation would be to dissolve the moral bond itself. If this duty of the community cannot be made clear none can. The best method discoverable is the form of the social duty; it expresses the moral law for conduct in this field. We may here give some examples of such principles, and the student can find the proof of their wisdom and soundness in the works of reference cited.

1. *Principles relating to neglected infants.*—It is universally taught by the competent authorities that the mother who can do so should give her babe its natural nourishment, for thereby, on the average, the chances of life are greatly increased. In extreme cases, where nature's provision fails or is insufficient, cows' milk, properly prepared and pure, may be fed under careful medical advice. To carry out this principle various organizations have been effected. Societies have been formed to encourage mothers to nourish their own infants; and where the mothers must go out to work these societies pay a pension to enable her to perform her duty at home. In great cities

the government inspects the dairies and places of sale to prevent the distribution of milk which owing to the presence of hurtful bacteria or lack of nutritious elements is more poison than food. This movement to supervise the milk supply of large towns came none too soon, for the slaughter of innocents went on with a ferocity beside which the murder of children by Herod was mercy. Philanthropy has established associations of trained nurses who go from house to house giving instruction to mothers in relation to the methods of preserving the lives and vigor of their children. Ignorance is more frequently the cause of disease and death than cruelty or carelessness. Physicians have also opened free dispensaries for poor mothers to supply them with artificial food, where it is necessary, and to teach mothers how to maintain the life and energy of the young citizens. Experience has shown that it will not do to leave this delicate task to the ignorant impulses of poor mothers. The pity of it is that young women so frequently go at once from factory and shop to wifehood and motherhood without ever having any instruction in the preservation of their own health or in the care of infants. Such information as they pick up by chance from mothers and midwives is often misleading.

The method of helping the infants of unmarried mothers must be studied. First of all, asylum should be afforded such unfortunate girls in their hour of misery. Experience has shown that usually an unmarried mother will take refuge and care for her babe if she is not unduly exposed to shame. She ought to be taught that to abandon the babe is equivalent to multiplying the probabilities of its death; desertion is murder; she should nurse her babe for one year at least. Whether after that she should have the control of the child must depend on her nature, education, character, and situation. Good homes can generally be found for such young mothers if they are able and willing to do household work. An open door of refuge for the disgraced and terrified girl, victim of passion, folly, and wickedness, prevents despair and suicide or infanticide, proves that the pity of Christ to the fallen is a reality, and opens a vision of a merciful God. Vice brings to such a very severe punishment and the sinner needs not further rebuke and unpitying retribution. "He that is without sin let him first cast a stone at her." In any case the infant is innocent

and has full right to social protection—just as much right as the offspring of lawful marriage. In infancy such a child has right to proper physical care, and when it grows up has right to be free from humiliation and ostracism which is only too often visited on the helpless victim of sin by irrational public opinion.

2. *Principles governing the right treatment of children morally abandoned or cruelly treated.*—Cruelty is ingenious and inventive in ways of torture. Sometimes cruelty is seen in partial starvation, or in administering doses of drugs to keep the child still, sometimes in whipping and beating with physical injury. The animal wants may be met fairly well, and yet the soul of the young creature may be assailed by odious and defiling examples of uncleanness, profanity, theft, riot; and that means it is morally abandoned. For all such cases each community ought to provide protection by humane societies, juvenile courts backed by laws which provide punishment for parents who contribute by their neglect to the downfall of their offspring. Here again the best-known method is the standard of social duty. Of recent years this obligation of the state has been more clearly expressed in compulsory-education laws, in according to juvenile courts the power to call before them not merely the delinquent child but parents and other adults who in any way have contributed to the moral hurt of the child. If parents are shown to be too poor to give adequate maintenance and supervision to their children then the community ought, through public or private charity, to supply what is essential.

3. *Principles regulating suitable care of defective children.*—Social statistics of the blind, deaf and crippled are by no means complete and satisfactory, but they reveal a very serious number of these classes in all countries. Blindness has many causes, some of them diseases which can be traced to the sins of fathers. In many forms loss of sight is due to accident and sickness. Deafness also is due to many causes, some of them preventable. Crippled children are those who have weak spines or hip disease, or are victims of violence and accidents.

The first principle for social duty is prevention, where causes are known; and the next is cure, to the extent to which this is possible. Surgery and medicine are doing wonders for all these unfortunates,

and if cure is not possible, life in thousands of cases is at least made tolerable and useful.

In the education of the blind and of the deaf we have technical problems too complex to discuss here. There are special treatises on methods of teaching the deaf and the blind to communicate with each other and with the outside world. The stories of Laura Bridgman and Helen Keller are full of encouragement and interest. Boarding-schools are provided by most states for deaf and for blind children. But it has been found that many of both classes may be taught in ordinary schools by special teachers, and without sending them away from home. So far as this is possible, as in cities, it has the advantage that the children are not deprived of home and its natural affections and care, so necessary to development of character. It is also an advantage that the children early learn to take care of themselves and live independently in mixed society.

4. *Duty of the community to abnormal children.*—Any human being who cannot be educated and trained to be capable of self-support and self-control, by reason of imbecility, idiocy, epilepsy, or insanity, should for his own happiness, for the sake of the family, and for the protection of society, be placed and maintained in cottage homes in separate villages apart from all other human beings, under the gentle but firm care of teachers, physicians, and superintendents. They cannot succeed in competition with normal children, and the attempt to do so brings nothing but misery, poverty, and humiliation. These isolation colonies should be so arranged and administered that when the children grow up in youth and maturity they will not be permitted to marry or to have children of their own. Boys and girls must be kept in separate places. With proper surgical treatment, which is painless and harmless, and even necessary to their health, they will never under any circumstances become parents of similar miserable creatures.

Epileptic children and adults are so unlike idiotic persons that they ought never to be placed with them; special villages of epileptics are now established by the most advanced states, and also colonies of the feeble minded. The mode of life and the treatment of these two classes of unfortunates is so dissimilar that it is impossible properly to care for them under the same administration.

Every human being has a right to the most complete education which he can receive, and therefore it is the duty of the state to provide means for such education, and to appoint competent and specially trained teachers and physicians for this task.

TOPICS FOR FURTHER DISCUSSION

Members of the class may wish to pursue these subjects still farther, and by means of the books cited in references they will be able to do so. Such topics as these may be considered and discussed:

1. What are the physical conditions of defective and abnormal children of all the classes mentioned?

2. What causes have been at work to produce these defects?

3. Are any of these causes capable of being diminished or removed, and by what means and methods?

4. What are the best methods of educating children in these various special schools?

5. It there need of having special classes in the community where members of the class reside?

6. Are school physicians or nurses appointed by your school authorities to examine little children when they enter school and discover whether they are diseased, defective, feeble minded, too slow and stupid to keep up with others in classes and so exposed to jest and insult by other children? Is any attempt made to treat children who are made stupid by growths in the nose (adenoids), obstructions of hearing, defects of vision, which might be corrected by proper treatment? Are there children who have crooked backs or deformed feet who might be made stronger by treatment in a hospital and by proper apparatus? Have you a corps of district nurses moving about among the poor to discover children thus affected with deformity or disease long before they are discovered by school authorities? Have the physicians established schools where mothers can be taught how to feed and bathe their infants, and in all ways rear them in health and strength? Do you know of any little children with flat or deformed feet who might be made whole if taken to a hospital while their bones are pliable?

7. Has your state provided colonies for the feeble minded and for epileptics? Where are they? What is the law governing them? Are they able to accommodate all for whom admission is sought? Can you help improve conditions at this point?

5. Attention must here be called to methods of dealing with children in a crowded neighborhood, or even in villages and towns where idle groups are left to their own resources and are almost sure to get into mischief. It is a safe principle to act upon that every child should be kept busy every waking minute. Indeed every healthy child will take care to be busy at something. An old proverb hits the truth: An

idle mind is the devil's workshop. But hands busy with destruction may also dig the grave of character. Children must have room to grow; a hill of corn must have space to produce grains, and civic virtue will not flourish in a sand lot covered with dirty cans and refuse. Boys and girls cannot thrive in health or morality if their only playground is the street or alley, and they are left without older persons to teach them how to play.

We now know that regulated, supervised, educational play is nature's way of character-building. Through plays and games the human race first learned to work. A child who never has a free chance to jump, spring, shout, laugh, compete, dance, run, throw, swim, shoot, wrestle, box, build and make things, can never develop all faculties.

Homes of the poor are too crowded for all the play children require, and parents seldom have either the leisure or knowledge to teach children how to play. Policemen are still more unfit; it is not their business. Playgrounds must be provided by the community, one playground for every schoolhouse at least, where children "learn love's holy earnest in a pretty play, and get not over-early solemnized." When children of school age are not in school or at home, let them be with wise teachers who know how to make play a path to productive work to the sound of laughter and music. Play directors have already formed a national association and are establishing special normal schools for training teachers for this new and desirable form of education. Long ago Froebel with his kindergarten revealed the value of play in education, but his ideas are now extended in directions and ways of which he did not dream.

Boys and girls like to use tools and enjoy the triumph of skill in making pretty and useful articles. Art classes in drawing and color painting are attractive. Almost any occupation, except reading in books, can with healthy and vigorous children be made play.

Part of the time there should be "free play," as with marbles, tops, ball, without any direct drill or useful purpose; enjoyment is itself useful, as all beauty is. In games, properly supervised by sympathetic teachers, children are socialized, civilized, Christianized; they learn to "play fair," to obey rules, to check selfishness, to be urbane and patient, and bravely to take hard knocks without whimpering.

REFERENCES

On this chapter the class will find considerable discussion and many references in

C. R. Henderson, *Dependents, Defectives and Delinquents.*

See especially, Homer Folks, *The Care of Destitute, Neglected, and Delinquent Children.*

W. B. Forbush, *The Boy Problem.*

Work with Boys, a magazine ($1.00 a year, Thomas Chew, Fall River, Mass.).

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C. Zueblin, *American Municipal Progress.*

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THE GOSPEL OF JOHN FROM THE STANDPOINT OF GREEK TRAGEDY

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The purpose of this article is, not to prove that the Gospel of John is a Greek drama, consciously modeled and artificially arranged with reference to the dramatic unities, but to present evidence that there is a close parallelism of form and method between it and the great Greek tragedies.

A discussion of the date, authorship, and object of the gospel lies beyond our present purpose; but a few generally accepted characteristics of the gospel may be noted as introductory. The Fourth Gospel is different from the Synoptics in both method and style. The method is subjectively rather than historically controlled; the style is dramatic not historical. It is not the story of the life of the Man of Nazareth, but a highly subjective presentation of the supernatural Christ. It is not the purpose of this gospel to give a full account of the earthly ministry of Jesus. It is silent concerning his work, save on a few special occasions which illustrate the theme it announces. Whole months are passed over in silence. The events of only a little over twenty days are recorded in any detail, and in every case they are presented from a special point of view best stated in the author's own words, "These are written that ye may believe that Jesus is the Christ the Son of God and that believing ye may have life in his name" (20:31). The book originated in Asia Minor in an atmosphere surcharged with Greek speculative thought, and reflects an early effort to adapt Christianity to new conditions. Gnosticism was spreading. Speculation concerning Jesus and his work was rife. Irenæus states that the gospel was written to counteract the teachings of Cerinthus, who in true gnostic fashion separated God from the world-maker, whom he made a subordinate intermediate being. Cerinthus also distinguished the earthly being Jesus from the heavenly Messiah who descended upon the man Jesus at his baptism and became the

Word incarnate. In opposition to this theory, and in modification of Philo's doctrine of the Logos as the intermediary between God and the world, John asserted that "the Word was God" and that the Word in Jesus became flesh, a thesis which he sought to prove by reference to his earthly life. It is from this standpoint that the gospel should be studied. The prologue states that that Word, who in Jesus became incarnate, was pre-existent, the creator of the world, the life of men. The subsequent narrative is based upon these presuppositions, which give a unique character to this gospel.

A brief reference to the general characteristics of the Greek tragedy will assist the reader to the special standpoint of this paper. From the first, Greek tragedy had a religious significance. It began with the worship of Dionysos, and grew out of the choral song and dance which accompanied his festivals, but came to be the means of presenting the noblest traditions of the nation and the grandest themes of human thought. The great Greek tragedies were not mere entertainments. They were, rather, serious productions, expressing the convictions of the national conscience, the hopes and fears of the profoundest minds grappling with the mysteries of life. They were presented at the great religious festivals and voiced all that was noble and uplifting in Greek life. They were earnest attempts to reveal God or moral purpose in history, to explain the meaning of providence. Thus tragedy, no longer confined to trifling local myths or to the mad orgies and ecstasies of the worship of Dionysos, became the nearest approach to a Bible which Greece produced. Aristotle's saying that the motive of tragedy was to purify the feelings and passions by the exalted exercise of them, is certainly true of the works of Aeschylus and Sophocles. The mysteries of fate, of sin and judgment, of suffering and atonement, of human frailty and struggle, of divine justice, are here treated in a way to command our own serious attention.

In the actual presentation of Greek tragedy there was at first little in the way of stage setting and almost no acting, in our modern sense. So long as there was only a single actor, who was often the poet himself, he merely related events which occurred elsewhere. A chorus always assisted. Aeschylus is said to have introduced a second actor, and Sophocles, a third, thus making it possible to act events in the theater itself, although the acting was of the simplest

sort. Yet this simplicity deepened the effect upon the mind and heart of those who saw and heard. Much of the action, such as battles, etc., did not take place on the stage itself but was recounted by a messenger. The stage was the place for soliloquy, debate, plotting, and pleading, for the whole range of human emotions. The ponderous mask and buskins precluded much movement or facial expression. The appeal was made directly to the intellect and emotions through the medium of song and speech. Those who have witnessed one of these masterpieces presented by modern actors can form some conception of the deep emotion which must have held a Greek audience with breathless interest when originally produced. The weirdness, the sense of a mighty power moving resistless to its appointed goal despite the effort of the mightiest of kings and warriors, brings one face to face with life's strange reversals and unfathomed mysteries.

Is there any evidence that there is a relationship between these creations of Greek genius and our Fourth Gospel? According to the traditional view the apostle John was, for about twenty-five years, a resident of the Greek cities of Asia Minor. He was in daily contact with Greek influences. He wrote his gospel in an atmosphere filled with Greek conceptions of life. He made use of the Greek language in expressing his thought. He must have known much concerning Greek customs and ideas. The great theaters, like the one at Ephesus, which was the alleged home of the apostle for years, were certain to attract attention. Greek converts to Christianity would very naturally refer to the dramas which so profoundly influenced the national life and through them he may easily have known something of the works of Sophocles and Euripides. Is it unreasonable to suppose that as he looked back over the more than half-century which had elapsed since the crucifixion of his Master and pondered upon the mysteries of Jesus' earthly life and death, upon his vast and growing significance for the whole world, and then faced the speculative heresies which were denying that Jesus was what the disciple conceived him to be, John would, half unconsciously, have reflected something of the spirit of Greek tragedy in his story of the struggle and fate of Jesus? If the author was, as many scholars think, not John the disciple, but an unknown Christian of the second century, the possibility—may I not say the probability—of this personal contact with the Greek

drama is increased. In either case it is all but certain that our author knew somewhat concerning the great masterpieces of literature that appealed so deeply to the Greek world.

Coming directly to the evidence in the gospel itself that it is in spirit closely akin to Greek tragedy, we note first of all that the *theme is similar.* "The subject uppermost in the teaching of Aeschylus is the relation of Man, God, and Fate." The same is essentially true of the dramas of Sophocles and Euripides. Fate, however, was not regarded as mere caprice. While man's destiny involved mystery, it had moral significance. Eternal justice was back of all. Gods and men move on to meet its decrees. The closing lines of *Oedipus Coloneus* sum up the Greek conception in these words:

> For know, 'tis all
> Decreed by fate, and all the work of Heaven.

The theme of the Gospel is essentially the superhuman in its play upon the human, and the crime and folly of men in refusing to accept the divine, to receive the light. Theologically stated it is the presentation to the world of the divine Word made flesh, as its savior and his rejection by the Jews, "his own." Jesus came, not to do his own will but the will of the Father that sent him (6:38). Throughout the gospel this relation between natural and supernatural is maintained (cf. 1:51; 13:1).

The gospel begins with a prologue (1:1–18) in which not only is the theme stated, but the issue is forecast. Light comes into the world, but it is not apprehended. Euripides begins each play (save the *Iphigenia at Aulis*, which seems to have been incomplete at the poet's death) with a prologue in which he makes known to his audience the events which lead up to the play and frequently outlines what is to follow. Aeschylus in the *Persians* employs the chorus for a similar purpose. This brings us to the consideration of the prominent part played in Greek tragedy by the chorus. Throughout the presentation of the play, at pauses in the acting, the chorus sang lyrical poems, having reference to the subject, often by way of suggestion rather than by direct explanation, and serving to give color and setting to the thought and also to render more effective the impression produced by the spoken parts. (Cf. "The Praise of Athens," *Oed. Col.* 1:9, and the

Prayers in the *Supplicants*.) Frequently also the choral parts in the dialogue proper explained to the audience the meaning of the events presented, and many of the plays ended with a chant by the chorus in which the moral is given point. There are several passages in the gospel which serve the same general purpose as the chorus. Besides the prologue compare 3:31 ff., 12:37 ff., and 20:30, 31.

The discourses of Jesus remind one of the passages in the Greek plays in which one character speaks at great length,[1] not in a familiar, conversational manner, but in an exalted, poetical vein. Monologues, like those of Prometheus, Creon, Ajax, etc., in which these characters voice the age-long hopes and fears and passions of the human soul, may be compared with 5:19–47 and chap. 17.

The action of the gospel considered as a drama centers in the opposition of the Jews to Jesus, culminating in his crucifixion. As the hero of the tragedy moves on to his fate, often impelled by forces beyond his control, so the gospel represents Jesus as borne on by the divine will to his cross. The prologue contrasts those that "received him not" and those that "received him." In the second chapter, when the two parties to the controversy first meet, it is in open, acute opposition. Jesus, with a scourge of cords, cleanses the temple, and charges the Jews with desecrating that sacred place. Even thus early he predicts his death (2:19), and throughout his ministry he is represented as living under the deepening shadow of his cross, as looking forward to "his hour." This overshadowing cloud of coming fate reminds us of Oedipus Coloneus who (Act I, 3), finding himself in the grove sacred to Neptune predicts—

> . . . . here at last
> I shall have rest . . . .
> . . . . and finish here
> A life of misery.

Although the Jews succeed in their determination to be rid of this troubler of ecclesiastical authority, we are told at the very beginning of the struggle that Jesus will rise again (2:19). The action proceeds therefore after the manner of a Greek tragedy, in which, in contrast to our modern drama, the audience knew from the first how affairs would terminate. The interest centered not on curiosity and surprise

[1] Monologues of from fifty to one hundred lines occur. The opening chorus to the *Supplicants* contains 189 lines; to *Agamemnon*, 235 lines (cf. Potter's translation).

in the plot, as with us, but upon the development of a well-known theme. The epic poems, as well as the great tragedies, were all strictly limited in theme to the realm where mythology and history blend and gods and men live together. Fiction, in the modern sense of pure invention of the plot, was thus excluded. The Greek dramatists, however, exercised great freedom in treating the details of the myths, idealizing, presenting the familiar story, each in his own way, and making prominent those features of the myth which served the immediate purpose. The writer of the Fourth Gospel has dealt with the outline of Jesus' life in precisely the same manner, as a comparative study of the gospels reveals. Compare, e. g., Matt. 16:15, 16 with John 1:42, 49.

In this connection another evidence of kinship between our gospel and the Greek drama comes to view. The drama began in an unmoral age and dealt with myths which likewise reflect an undeveloped ethical sense. Many features of the older myths were repugnant to the growing refinement and more sensitive tastes of later ages. One of the greatest services rendered by the drama in its palmy period was the purification of the mythology and the recasting of the old stories, so as to bring them into closer harmony with the moral standards of the time. The dramatists were the higher critics of the Greek religion and did not a little to interpret the spirit of the myths while relieving them of their cruder, grosser features.[2] In like manner the author of the gospel writes to present to the world a conception of Christ which the age demanded. He brings to his readers a picture of the glory of the Word— "glory as of the only begotten from the Father"—in order that "ye may believe that Jesus is the Christ the Son of God, and that believing ye may have life in his name" (1:14; 20:31). This is the picture which caught and fascinated the attention of the early church and which found expression in the great ecumenical creeds. It has often been noted that the gospel of John lacks almost wholly the ethical teaching of the synoptists.[3] The Sermon on the

[2] Compare Gunkel's theory that the original Jacob-stories praised his clever duplicity.

[3] Cf. *Ecce Homo*, Preface Supplementary, p. vi: "The author of the Fourth Gospel . . . . does not speak definitely of the forgiveness of injuries or of the duty of relieving men's physical wants." Compare, also, *The Morals of Jesus*, by Thomas Jefferson, which makes but little use of our gospel.

Mount and the parables are wanting. The reason seems to lie in its endeavor to present a Christ who will meet the religious needs and command the religious devotion of the age. How great the success was, the creeds bear witness; for the creeds are almost silent concerning man's duty to his brother, although they bristle with theological formulae which are designed to exalt Jesus as divine.

Parallel to the opposition of the Jews is the growing intimacy of the disciples with Jesus culminating, after the sorrowful experiences attending the crucifixion, in the gift of the Holy Spirit, and of power to forgive and retain sins (20:22, 23). The gospel ends in an atmosphere of mystery and turns our thoughts to things unseen and eternal—to Jesus, the Christ, the Son of God, who now moves in the realm of the supernatural—appearing and vanishing from sight without regard to natural laws.[4] In a sense evil has been outwitted by the interference of the supernatural. Justice has triumphed in the resurrection of Jesus. Caiaphas, Herod, and Pilate, though they have crucified Jesus, are nevertheless themselves unable to escape the judgment of the king of truth. How like this is to the ending of the Greek tragedies, all familiar with the subject will at once recognize. (Compare Sophocles' *Antigone*, Euripides' *Medea* (the chorus), Aeschylus' *Persians*, in which Xerxes is informed that he has been defeated by the god of war.) Indeed, while the tragedy often left the audience in perplexity and failed to clear away the mysteries of human destiny, sometimes even seeming to reach conclusions which lie athwart the beaten paths of human experience, it always assumes that the gods know if mortals do not and that behind the unlifted veil eternal justice reigns. "Thou may'st not know this now; forbear t' inquire," is a message from Greek tragedy, not unlike that from the gospel itself (13:7; 16:12).

To a surprising degree do we find in these tragedies anticipations, not only of the main motives and movements of the gospel, but of details as well. Many of these minor parallelisms might be pointed out; but they are omitted here lest the charges of special pleading and

4 One is reminded here of the way in which the gods intrude and arbitrarily interfere with the expected course of events. Occasionally a god was hoisted aloft on a crane over the stage to pronounce from mid-air (*ex machina*) some decree of fate (cf. 12:28 ff.).

of what Dr. Schaff used to call *im*position, be brought against the whole argument. Besides, it is not in any number of such isolated correspondences, however suggestive they may be from other standpoints, that the value of this article is to be judged. That the poets and philosophers of the Greek world should have many thoughts in common with the writers of the New Testament is just what we should expect. What concerns us now is the remarkable similarity of method and spirit in conveying these thoughts, which exists between Greek tragedy and the Fourth Gospel. As literature, they have a close affinity in motive, development, and climax. The love of philosophy, so characteristic of the Greek temperament, that intellectual ferment which St. Paul noted in the Athenians, so that they "spent their time in nothing else, but either to tell or to hear some new thing," very naturally led to comparisons between Christianity and other religious systems and to various attempts to combine them. The influence of this eclecticism appears somewhat in the earlier Neoplatonism, but more notably in Gnosticism. The writer of the Fourth Gospel, from the Christian standpoint in combating this tendency to undermine the divinity of Christ, seems to have adopted the very method of expressing the truth which would appeal most powerfully to the mind and heart of the Greek world.

One is surprised to discover how little descriptive narrative and how much dialogue and discourse the Fourth Gospel contains. Chapter after chapter can be rewritten in dramatic form with no violence to the text. Take for example 6:25–71, or 8:12–59, or chap. 9. The action is as intense, the debate as pointed and earnest, as any in all literature, while the transcendent importance of the events themselves places the gospel story in a class by itself. Considered solely from the standpoint of dramatic power, what can compare with the judgment scene, with its contrasts between the frenzy and relentless hatred of the Jews, the cowardice of the politic Pilate, and the majesty of Jesus? If the reader will rewrite the entire gospel in dramatic form, the work will prove most rewarding. The author hopes that the gospel will at least be read through in connection with the following synopsis. The suggested divisions into act and scene are, of course, purely arbitrary and are used simply to illustrate this method of studying the book. Remember also that this is not an attempt to

dramatize the gospel by reading new material into it, but a study of it from a special literary and historical point of view.

If the reader can in imagination seat himself in the vast open-air amphitheater at Ephesus among the crowds who, with expectant hush and tense sympathy, witnessed the tragedy, the parallel I am seeking to present will be more apparent. The chorus enters and chants the prologue, its minor note of regret almost lost in the outburst of praise to "the only begotten Son, who is in the bosom of the Father." John the Baptist gives his fearless testimony, "Behold the Lamb of God." The first disciples enter and follow Jesus, "The Messiah." The ease with which the gospel lends itself to this form of presentation will become apparent to anyone who tries it, and combined with the facts already noted, serves to convince the writer that there is a close relationship between Greek tragedy and our Fourth Gospel.

ACT I: THE PROLOGUE

SCENE 1 (1:1–14). The theme announced: The divine Word made flesh rejected by the Jews, conferring divine sonship on all who receive him.

(1:15–34). John the Baptist witnesses to the supernatural origin of Jesus and his Messiahship. Note that John is not a preacher of repentance, but a herald of the Messiah.

(1:35—2:11). The chorus recounts the call of the first disciples and the first "sign" at Cana. Observe that Jesus is from the first regarded as a supernatural being. He changes Simon's name, anticipating what the synoptists record later. He sees Nathanael under the fig-tree and "knows" him, bringing *at once* the confession, "Rabbi, thou art the Son of God; thou art king of Israel." Jesus predicts that Nathanael will "see the heaven opened and the angels of God ascending and descending upon the Son of Man." It is also to be remarked that the miracles attributed to Jesus in this gospel are all remarkable marvels: e. g., water turned into wine; the nobleman's son healed at a distance, the man *born* blind, and the man *thirty-eight* years in an infirmity are the only instances of healing; Lazarus dead *four days* is raised to life.

SCENE 2 (2:13–22). The temple cleansed at the Passover. The two principal parties to the action are introduced, Jesus and the Jews. Note the abruptness, even violence, with which the controversy begins. The Jews demand a "sign." Jesus predicts his resurrection.

SCENE 3 (3:1–21). The interview between Jesus and Nicodemus reveals the superiority of Jesus to the "teacher of Israel" and one of the noblest of the Israelites. The chorus chants the sublime passage 3:16–21.

SCENE 4 (3:22–36). The dispute between John's disciples and a Jew about

purifying leads John to witness to Christ. The chorus takes up the theme, vss. 31–36.

SCENE 5 (4:1–54). The conversation with the Samaritan woman at Jacob's well, in which Jesus proclaims himself the Messiah, proving it by telling the woman "all things that ever she did." Note that the Samaritans and Galileans "received him," while the Jews did not. The chorus relates the story of healing the nobleman's son.

ACT II

The progress of the struggle as it centers on religious forms and ceremonies.

SCENE 1 (5:1–47). The healing of the infirm man at Bethesda leads to a controversy over the Sabbath law and the authority of Moses. The Jews persecute Jesus.

SCENE 2 (6:1–71). The feeding of the five thousand leads to a dispute in the synagogue at Capernaum over the meaning of Moses' sign, "the manna." Jesus loses popularity by announcing himself the true bread from heaven.

SCENE 3 (7:1–9). Even his own brothers do not believe on him. He avoids Judea for fear of the Jews.

ACT III

The stage of acute opposition is reached. Open violence is attempted.

SCENE 1 (7:14–52). The first attempt to arrest Jesus is made during the Feast of Tabernacles, but his hour has not come. The officers report, "Never man so spake."

SCENE 2 (8:12–59). The attempt is made to entrap Jesus in his speech and to argue him to silence. Note the bitterness of the debate: "Thou hast a demon;" "Ye are of your father, the devil." The Jews take up stones to kill him.

SCENE 3 (9:1—10:21). The man born blind is healed on a Sabbath, and because he confesses Jesus a prophet, is cast out of the synagogue. Jesus' discourse concerning the Good Shepherd.

SCENE 4 (10:22–41). The Jews attempt to stone Jesus in Solomon's Porch at the Feast of Dedication, because he, "being a man, made himself God."

ACT IV

The Jews take counsel to put Jesus to death, not by violence, but by plot.

SCENE 1 (11:1–46). The resurrection of Lazarus wins new converts.

SCENE 2 (11:47–57). The Jews are angry at the success of Jesus and fear political complications. They decide that it is expedient that one man die, and that the whole nation perish not.

SCENE 3 (12:1–11). The supper at Bethany discloses the beginning of Judas' treachery. The Jews seek to put Lazarus to death.

SCENE 4 (12:12–19). The open assumption of messianic honors at the triumphal entry into the temple rouses the Jews to a frenzy.

SCENE 5 (12:20–50). The gentiles seek Jesus, while the Jews are rejecting him. The voice from heaven.

SCENE 6 (13:1—17:26). The farewell discourse and the last supper with the disciples. The self-consciousness of Jesus as he meets his hour and his solicitousness for his disciples, his words of comfort and high-priestly prayer form a vivid contrast to the ceaseless controversies with the Jews.

ACT V

The plot of the Jews succeeds, but throughout Jesus is superior to his circumstances; never compelled, always voluntarily yielding. There is no mention made of the agony in the garden or on the cross. Jesus is sustained by supernatural forces through which he rises victorious.

SCENE 1 (18:1–14). When arrested in the garden, he is not seized as a helpless victim. His majestic presence causes his enemies to fall to the ground. He gives himself up of his own accord.

SCENE 2 (18:15–27). The trial before Annas is accompanied by the denial of Peter.

SCENE 3 (18:28—19:16). John omits the trial before Caiaphas and does not mention that before Herod. The calm superiority of Jesus to Pilate and the utter lack of reason or justice in the Jews who seek his death make this passage one of the most vivid in all literature.

SCENE 4 (19:17–42). John gives very few details concerning the crucifixion. Even on the cross Jesus "fulfils the Scripture." The chorus relates the story of the death and burial.

SCENE 5 (20:1–31). The chorus tells the story of the empty tomb and the appearance to Mary. Jesus appears to his disciples and confers the power of the Holy Ghost.

Here the action, the progress of events, comes to its conclusion. Through death Jesus passes to life and by the direct exercise of divine power thwarts the plot of his enemies to destroy him. To the disciples is given the power to forgive or to retain sins, implying authority over the Jews who had so persistently persecuted their Master.

This study of the gospel emphasizes the following facts:

1. The Fourth Gospel is not only the gospel of love, but also the gospel of controversy. This need not surprise us, for nowhere can there be a greater antagonism or a deeper antipathy than that existing between infinite love and selfishness and pride as these pass into a frenzy of hate toward the goodness which is their condemnation. Jesus, love incarnate, who came to give abundant life to men, meets the opposition of these Jews who are unwilling to surrender selfish privilege. No power of indignation, no incentive to action can be

greater than these two: love opposed to selfishness and selfishness exposed by love. In the gospel this greatest conflict of the ages is fought out to the end.

2. The Fourth Gospel is the gospel of supernaturalism. The point over which the controversy rages is the claim of Jesus to supernatural power and to a peculiar relation to God. He is superior not only to Moses' law, but to physical law. He assumes superiority to Nicodemus, "the teacher of Israel," condemns the injustice of the high-priest, and stands before the Roman governor as an avowed king. This study has its obvious limitations; but it is this background of the supernatural and this ceaseless struggle with circumstances which make the Fourth Gospel in spirit closely akin to the great masterpieces of Greek genius.

> A thousand shapes our varying fates assume;
> The gods perform what we could least expect;
> And oft the things for which we fondly hoped
> Come not to pass; but Heaven still finds a clue
> To guide our steps through life's perplexing maze,
> And thus does this important business end.
>
> —EURIPIDES.

"THE KINGDOM OF HEAVEN SUFFERETH VIOLENCE"

AN EXPOSITION OF MATT. 11:12, 13

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And from the days of John the Baptist until now the kingdom of heaven suffereth violence and the violent take it by force. For all the prophets and the law prophesied until John.

This has always been recognized as one of the most difficult of our Lord's sayings and not a few commentators have confessed themselves utterly baffled by it. Of late years, however, the question as to its true meaning has become peculiarly urgent. What was formerly an obscure text, interesting chiefly as a riddle of exegesis, is now perceived to have an intimate bearing on one of the central problems of New Testament theology. In all the more recent literature on our Lord's conception of the kingdom of God, this passage is singled out as one of crucial importance. Until we can interpret it, several of the main issues in the larger problem will remain uncertain.

There can be little doubt that Matthew has preserved the saying in a more authentic form than Luke. In the Lucan parallel (16:16) the vivid and characteristic image disappears, and is replaced by a matter-of-fact statement. Luke, it is evident, was perplexed by the saying as all interpreters have been since, and gave a paraphrase of what he conceived to be its meaning. This fact in itself is valuable as an incidental proof of the genuineness of the saying. To the second generation it had already become unintelligible and could never have found its way into the gospels unless it had formed part of the very earliest tradition. Before attempting an explanation of the passage we require to take account of several preliminary difficulties.

1. The word βιάζεται may be translated with equal correctness in a neutral or a passive sense ("breaks in" or "is forced"). The former rendering would undoubtedly simplify the thought, and has commended itself to many scholars; but, in view of the clause that follows, it is inadmissible. A parallelism is obviously intended and is destroyed unless we translate as in our English version. The

shade of meaning in ἁρπάζουσι has likewise to be noted. The word does not denote "force an entrance" (as into a besieged city), but "seize hold of," "carry off as plunder." It suggests the picture of a prize just coming within reach, which the bolder spirits immediately capture, without waiting for a signal.

2. The saying which appears in Matthew as part of a long passage is isolated by Luke. He reserves it for a later place in his gospel (16:16), although otherwise he gives the discourse on John the Baptist in much the same form as Matthew (Matt. 11:7–11 = Luke 6:24–28). It may be inferred that Matthew in his usual manner has grouped together several kindred sayings while Luke keeps them separate, as he found them in his source. We are thus relieved of the difficulty of tracing a connection between our saying and the passage as a whole. The introductory words, "and from the days of John the Baptist until now," may also cease to trouble us. Certainly as they stand they suggest a late date, when John had become a figure of the past; but we may regard them as merely the connecting link, supplied by the evangelist himself.

3. Luke varies from Matthew in the order which he assigns to the two parts of the saying, "the law and the prophets were until John, but now," etc. The larger mass of critical opinion would here give the preference to Matthew; but we incline to a different view. Matthew is anxious to bring the Logion into a given setting—to connect it, on the one hand, with the preceding discourse and, on the other hand, with the closing statement, "This is Elias" (11:14). Luke has no such motive for inverting the order of the sentences. We therefore conclude that the original saying ran thus: "The law and the prophets were until John; since then the kingdom of God is taken forcibly, and the violent drag it toward them." John, that is to say, had inaugurated a new era. In former times the kingdom had been merely foreseen and hoped for; now it had come so near that men could hasten their possession of it, by an effort of their own.

According to the view which has recently been advocated by many scholars (most notably by Johannes Weiss), our Lord could never have intended his words to bear this meaning. He thought of the kingdom as of something which would come in its own time, by the immediate act of God. The idea that men could in any sense compel the

kingdom was wholly foreign to his mind, and would have seemed to him nothing less than blasphemous. Weiss maintains, therefore, that the words must have been spoken in indignant irony. The agitation which was finally to culminate in the great revolt had received a new impulse from the preaching of the Baptist, and Jesus warned the people against vain and unholy attempts to enforce the kingdom of God. It would not come by compulsion; not the violent, but those who waited patiently for God, would possess it in the appointed time. To this interpretation, however, there are several objections which at once suggest themselves: (1) No indication is given us that the saying was spoken in irony or by way of rebuke; (2) The agitation had begun long before John's appearance, and he did nothing, so far as we can gather, to increase it; (3) Our Lord's uniform attitude to John was one of respect and admiration, and we cannot believe that he charged his predecessor with initiating a mistaken movement. But there is another and more radical objection, the consideration of which may help us toward a right understanding of the passage.

Granting that Jesus conceived of the kingdom in an apocalyptic sense, must we assume that he discountenanced all human efforts to hasten it? The Jewish apocalyptic writings themselves allow for a certain co-operation of man with God. A time is fixed for the commencement of the new age, but Israel may "shorten the days" by prayer, repentance, stricter obedience to the law. It seems to us that this idea of a compulsion which man may exercise in the divine purpose is not only accepted by Jesus but occupies an essential place in his teaching. So, far from commending the attitude of passive waiting, he desires that men should prevail on God and overcome his seeming reluctance. In this manner we would explain the passages in which Jesus bestows emphatic praise on those who force themselves on his help by some kind of aggressive action. He recognizes in them the spirit by which all divine benefits are to be obtained. The paralytic at Capernaum, the Syrophenician woman, Zacchaeus, the blind man by the wayside, did not wait passively till Jesus should remember them, but obtruded themselves upon him and sought to enforce his will. He loved to have it so. He welcomed in them the religious temper which he wished to awaken in all men by his preaching of the kingdom. The same idea appears to be expressed even

more directly in such parables as those of the Importunate Widow and the Traveler at Midnight. It is reasonable to conjecture that these parables were spoken, not of prayer in general, but of specific prayer for the hastening of the kingdom (cf. Luke 18:7, 8). By crying unto God night and day, by knocking at the door even though it seemed barred against them, men had it in their own power to shorten the interval of waiting. The petition, "Thy kingdom come," is to the same effect. It implies a conviction that the appointed time might be brought nearer by the unwearied prayer of God's people.

This aspect of our Lord's teaching has been too much neglected in recent speculations on his conception of the kingdom. If we regard him merely as waiting for a kingdom which was to come catastrophically at a set time, it is hard to see how his work differed, in any respect, from that of John. It is still harder to see how it possessed any original religious value. We begin to discern its true significance only when we discover that Jesus set himself to realize, as well as to foretell, the kingdom. Acknowledging though he did that it would come about mysteriously and suddenly by the will of God, he believed that men could in some sense compel the divine will. He saw in faith a power which would remove mountains, which would prevail with God himself; and his aim was to arouse the people to a supreme effort of faith. They were not merely to wait for the kingdom, but to hasten its coming by their own endeavor. It was thus Jesus himself who prescribed the great ideal which the Christian church has kept before it ever since, that of working along with God for the fulfilment of his kingdom.

We conclude, then, that the passage under discussion simply expresses with peculiar force and vividness one of the essential and pervading thoughts in the teaching of Jesus. He believed that the purpose of God could be hastened. He sought to inspire in men the compelling faith which would hasten it. The law and the prophets had been until John, but the period of mere waiting for the kingdom was now to cease. The appointed time was so near that a strong faith could break down the remaining barriers. "Violent men," whose hearts were set on the kingdom, might now leap forward and take it by force, even before the time.

THE SERVANT OF JEHOVAH IN THE LIGHT OF THE INSCRIPTIONS

A WORLD EMPIRE, A WORLD RELIGION

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In reading the annals of the Assyrian monarchs, one is forcibly impressed by the frightful devastation that marked their campaigns. Their cruelties induced a sullen resentment that flared into open revolt at the least opportunity. The morbid imaginings of hate pictured even the gods of the various districts engaged in the same life-and-death struggle as their votaries. From this chaos of war emerged two policies foreshadowing a truly imperial rule. One was the cruel system of enforced colonization, which compelled great populations to settle in distant regions. Local patriotic sentiment, divorced from its native soil, was stifled, and as the constituent elements of the composite communities thus formed did not readily blend, the task of the ruler became easier. From that day to the present the inhabitants of western Asia have remained divided into discordant social groups. The other contribution to the science of government was worthier. When a local revolt had been quelled, and the local ruler flayed alive, an Assyrian noble was often placed upon the vacant throne. A number of such prefects are mentioned in the later Assyrian annals. They had with them Assyrian garrisons and sometimes a new fortress was established for the capital.

Thus most of the simple machinery of an oriental monarchy was built up. Yet something was still lacking. The Assyrians never rose above the idea that the honor of their own gods required the humiliation of their subjects. As with many other Semites, their wars were wars of religion. Their kings set forth "at the call" or "under the stern orders" of Ashur and the lesser gods, their foes were "the enemies of Ashur," who when subdued became "submissive to Ashur." Hence foreign temples were often destroyed, and the images carried as captives to Assyria.

There could be no true world empire under such conditions, for all that was dear to the subjects of Assyria found expression in customs and beliefs that centered around the religious cults she so grossly insulted. Her downfall was hailed with delight, as the Book of Nahum plainly shows. Yet the neo-Babylonian empire that succeeded continued the same policy. No really imperial rule could be built on a substructure of such hatred as the following malediction reveals,

> O daughter of Babylon, that art to be destroyed,
> Happy shall he be that rewardeth thee as thou hast served us;
> Happy shall he be that taketh and dasheth thy little ones
> against the stones!—Ps. 137:8, 9.

But a better day was dawning. In 538 B. C. Cyrus the Persian entered Babylon and became supreme in western Asia. When we examine the policy he followed the contrast with the past is striking. In his famous cylinder he declares that Marduk, the great god of the Babylonians,

> searched through all lands, he saw him, and he sought the righteous prince, after his own heart, whom he took by the hand. Cyrus, king of Anshan, he called by name, to sovereignty over the whole world he appointed him. . . . . May all the gods whom I brought in to their own cities daily before Bel and Nabu pray that I may have a long life, may they speak a gracious word for me, and may they say to Marduk, my lord, "Cyrus, the king who worships thee, and Cambyses his son."[1]

By comparing this with other records its true significance is revealed. The most important is in the book of Ezra:

> Thus saith Cyrus, king of Persia; All the kingdoms of the earth hath Jehovah, the god of heaven, given me, and he hath charged me to build him a house in Jerusalem (1:2).

The new conqueror, like his predecessors, asserts that he rules by divine right, but this right is granted him by Marduk and Jehovah, and not alone by Ahuramazda, whom his own race worshiped. The homage accorded these foreign deities was doubtless granted equally to other pantheons, although documentary proof is wanting.

In like manner Cambyses, when he had conquered Egypt, assumed the titles, "Horus, unifier of all lands," "born of Ra," doing honor to the gods there worshiped. That this tolerant attitude inaugurated

[1] Harper, *Assyrian and Babylonian Literature*, p. 171.

a new policy is strikingly brought out in a recent exhaustive study of the titles of ancient monarchs, which demonstrates that the name of the land of which the king was a native was a part of the ordinary royal title in all the early Semitic monuments, while quite the opposite is true of the rulers of the early Persian empire.[2] This policy of conciliation gave a sure basis for a true world empire, for the followers of all religions could rally around the overlord without thereby being false to their own cherished beliefs. A wealth of meaning is in the simple words of Cyrus, "I permitted all the lands to dwell in quiet."[3] A new era had dawned; political universalism had succeeded the narrow prejudice of the past. We realize its significance when we contrast the quiet of the next two centuries with the wars that had preceded, or enumerate the vast dominions the great king peacefully ruled, and when we read in the Psalms (126) and in Ezra (chap. 3) of the joy of the Jews.

The second part of the book of Isaiah refers specifically to the time of Cyrus. How was its author influenced by the stirring events then witnessed? Standing as exiles face to face with the pageantry of the Babylonian temples, whose votaries had triumphed over the worshipers of Jehovah, the pious among the Jews must long have remained in sadness pondering the mystery of suffering. Their God had not vindicated his name. He had not brought low the wicked and given peace in the end to the innocent; the simple faith of the earlier psalmists could give no comfort now. Those who had put their trust in the ritual of the sanctuary were utterly bereft. The weaker offered sacrifice, at least in secret, to the gods of the Babylonians (Isa. 65:3, 4, 11). But gradually the light again broke. Doubt gave way to hope as the superiority of the exiles' religion became evident in their close contact with idolatry, and hope was strengthened when some of the heathen forsook their idols for the once despised and smitten faith (Isa. 56:3). Yet the mystery of suffering remained unsolved, until at last the key was found in the salvation that had come through this suffering, not only to the Jews, but even to foreigners. For Jehovah declares to his "Servant," by whose stripes redemption is brought:

[2] Wilson, *Princeton Theological Review*, III, 1905.

[3] Harper, *loc. cit.*

It is too light a thing that thou shouldest be my servant to raise up the tribes of Jacob, and to restore the preserved of Israel: I will also give thee for a light to the gentiles, that thou mayest be my salvation unto the ends of the earth (49:5, 6).

From this standpoint we are introduced to magnificent vistas as the writer endeavors to suggest to his readers the character and power of Jehovah. It is He who has made the universe (40:12 ff.; 45:12 *et passim*). All the nations are as nothing before him (40:22 ff.). He has created man upon the earth, for he "created it not a waste," he "formed it to be inhabited "(45:18). He gives breath to the people upon the earth, "and spirit to them that walk therein" (42:5). Here is the sublime thought that Jehovah has appointed its habitation and destiny to each of the nations in the whole world. In the magnificent sweep of his vision the prophet sees the nations and rulers in ignorance performing the decrees of his God (cf. 54:16). And instead of the feeling of bitterness toward them that had animated others he feels compassion. Forgetting all the old enmities and oppressions, and thinking of Jehovah as the creator and upholder of all, in his name he sets forth the following proclamation:

There is no God else beside me, a just God and a Savior; there is none else beside me. Look unto me, and be ye saved, all the ends of the earth: for I am God, and there is none else. By myself have I sworn: the word is gone forth from my mouth in righteousness, and shall not return, that unto me every knee shall bow, every tongue shall swear (45:21 f.).

We have in this the vision of a world-wide religion, a world-faith proclaimed as if in response to the world-empire even then being born. Can we say that the political achievement of the one did not strongly influence the seer who announced the other? We may not say it if we would, for Cyrus is repeatedly mentioned, even by name (44:28; 45:1). He it is who proclaims return to the exiles with high honor, with "kings as their nursing fathers and queens as their nursing mothers" (49:22 f.). He is hailed as the servant of Jehovah (45:1 ff.; 46:11), who is commissioned to be a shepherd to Israel (44:28); who in ignorance worships the true God (41:25). Cyrus as a worshiper of Ahuramazda professed a faith that recognized one god, and had no place for graven images. His advent seemed—in point of fact it in large part actually was—the beginning of the end for the hitherto triumphant idolatry.

Bel boweth down, Nebo stoopeth; . . . . they stoop, they bow down together, they could not deliver the burden, but themselves are gone into captivity (46:1 f.).

Like his compatriots, the prophet rejoices in this, but as already pointed out he seems to have comprehended also the new political ideal and to have expanded it magnificently to embrace the sphere of religion as well.

The form the prophet conceives that the new world-faith will take is based upon conditions familiar to him. As Cyrus sends back the Jews to Jerusalem, so all nations will bring them back, with gifts, even from the ends of the earth (60:3–10 *et passim*). The Jews, thus restored to the Holy Land, purified through suffering and purged from evil-doers (60:21; 65:11, 12; 66:17), will be freed from secular pursuits (60:11, 12; 61:5) in order that they may serve as priests and Levites for the nations (61:6; 66:21, 22), who shall come in endless procession on pilgrimage to worship Jehovah in Zion (66:23). They shall bear the news even to far-off peoples who have never heard Jehovah's name, and these, too, will come to offer worship (66:19, 20). Those who refuse will be utterly cut off (60:12; 66:14–16, 24). Righteousness will thus spread throughout all the world (45:22; 52:10). In the Holy Land peace shall be known forever, and the Jews shall have perpetual honor (60:15–22; 65:24, 25; 66:12).

For as the new heavens and the new earth which I will make shall remain before me, saith the Lord, so shall your seed and your name remain. And it shall come to pass that from one new moon to another, and from one sabbath to another, shall all flesh come to worship before me, saith the Lord (66:22, 23).

Current Opinion

As to the Morality of Christianity

In the October number of the *Hibbert Journal* Professor James Seth discusses "certain alleged defects in the Christian morality." It will be a surprise to many persons to know that there should be any question concerning that morality, particularly morality as taught by Jesus. But the spirit of free inquiry lets no topic of possible investigation escape, particularly in the case of men of the general type of Nietzsche. There is no small vigor in the criticism which is passed upon the ethics of the New Testament. Professor Seth classifies these objections as threefold: (1) Christian morality is alleged to be negative or ascetic; (2) it lacks virility in that it champions the weak; (3) it is anti-social. In combating these views he has no serious difficulty in dealing with the first, for a fair understanding of the New Testament is the quickest refutation of its alleged asceticism. The history of the Christian church enters a vigorous denial to the charge that the gospel does not produce strong types of character. The Christian is possessed of a courage which, if different from that of the Greeks, is none the less courage. The third objection, however, is not so easily met. For Christian history certainly does not show any society that has been thoroughly permeated by Christian ideals. Professor Seth, however, very properly argues that the teaching of Jesus is really non-political; that he is not a maker of rules; that he rather is a poet setting forth fundamental principles of morality. In other words, he emphasizes the fact that Christianity after all is a quality of life, a spiritual attitude toward social relations which is bound to have its results. In his opinion Christian apologetic ought to show that the Christian principle is normal and involves that which is normal and reasonable in human experience, rather than the exceptional, and that the great mission of Jesus is not so much to introduce precise ideals of the state or of any other form of social activity, as to supplement and give true value to social experience.

Such a discussion by no means exhausts the problem. The question of the finality of Christian morality can be established only by recognizing frankly that it is fundamentally religious, and that it induces humanity to realize the progressive elements of the self, particularly love. The entire New Testament concept of God is such that two great principles are self-evident to everyone not a thoroughgoing legalist: First, God is con-

stantly seeking self-realization in self-expression in the accomplishment of beneficent purposes; second, the ideal morality is that in which men endeavor to be like God in a similar self-realization. It follows inevitably that society is Christian only as it conduces to this realization in the individual. It is undeniable that the course of Christian history shows an approach toward conditions in which this realization is ever more possible.

Phases of the Johannine Problem.

Readers of literature dealing with the New Testament during recent years must have observed the fertility of the pen of Professor B. W. Bacon, of Yale. In recent months especially his productivity has been manifest, and a brief summary of his Johannine studies, kept within his own words as far as possible, seems worthy of consideration.

In *The Journal of Biblical Literature* for 1894 Dr. Bacon discussed "The Displacement of John xiv," urging that attentive readers must have been impressed "by the strange position occupied by the clause, 'Arise, let us go hence,' at the end" of the chapter, since "it marks no change of action or scene whatever." This strange position of the clause is to be explained as "a 'fault' in the literary strata" of the book. Chap. xiv "was originally . . . . the very last farewell address of Jesus to his disciples, fittingly concluding with the clause, 'Arise, let us go hence,' " which introduced the prayer of chap. xvii, which was uttered as they were standing. Other displacements in the gospel, Dr. Bacon argued, support this theory concerning chap. xiv.

In *The American Journal of Theology* for October, 1900, Professor Bacon discussed "Tatian's Rearrangement of the Fourth Gospel." He concluded that, while Tatian probably "possessed some sources of external evidence inaccessible to us" which justified his rearrangement of the gospel for his *Diatessaron*, yet his transpositions were "by no means all that are required by the narrative of the Fourth Gospel," if we are to read it in its proper order.

An Introduction to the New Testament also appeared in 1900. In this Professor Bacon addressed himself more directly to the purpose and authorship of the gospel. He wrote (p. 251): "The Fourth Gospel is the effort of a gifted mind, schooled in Phrygo-Alexandrian mysticism, and divinely exalted in the conscious apprehension of the mystery of the faith, to ground the higher Christology of Paul in an interpretation, based on partly independent sources, of the ministry and teaching of Jesus." The book is a unity, but this unity is the outcome of the labors of three men: "(*a*) the witness" of 19:35; "(*b*) the original reporter of the apostle's testimony; (*c*) the com-

piler of our gospel and author of the appendix" in chap. xxi. Though arising in this manner, the gospel "supplements the triple tradition [of the synoptists] with invaluable historical data."

Beginning in April, 1903, Professor Bacon published a series of three articles in *The Hibbert Journal* under the general title, "Recent Aspects of the Johannine Problem." In the first article he pointed out that, in examination of the external evidence, one must distinguish between "(1) mere evidence for the *existence* of something identifiable as 'Johannine' tradition and doctrine, and (2) evidence connecting the Fourth Gospel in its present form with the son of Zebedee." When the external evidence is so examined, we find "echoes" of Johannine tradition and doctrine well back into the second century, but "unless we [Bacon] greatly mistake the evidence, all that connects him [the son of Zebedee] with the Fourth Gospel runs rapidly out into mere legends of the Gnostics." At the beginning of the second article, "the point of tangency between external and internal evidence" was found in John 21:24, which "exhibits to the reader the Apostle John as the individual meant" to be the author of the book. But this statement, as a part of the appendix, "appears unknown" before the year 170, and the writer of it has incorrectly inferred that the "witness" of 19:35 was the son of Zebedee. In the third article, a consideration of the "Indirect Internal Evidence," which "is admitted on both sides to be the decisive factor in the Johannine problem," led to the conclusion that "the author is *not* attempting to draw from the storehouse of his own memories of Jesus, if he had them. He is elaborating for the most part the great themes of Pauline Christology and soteriology." The man who did this "we have every reason to identify with the sublime [but unknown] 'theologian' of the epistles." A further article in *The Hibbert Journal* (October, 1907) reviews the same general field, especially as a criticism of recent discussions of Professor Sanday, and finds "nothing to support the contention" that the son of Zebedee was the author of the gospel. "The significance of the Fourth Gospel lies in its testimony to the growth and self-definition of the gospel of Paul in the heart of the church of the uncircumcision, before the harking back to Jerusalem."

This last statement offers a point of contact between the above and two articles in recent numbers of *The Expositor* (September and October, 1907), which reveal the latest phases of Professor Bacon's thought. In the September number the subject, "The Martyr Apostles," raises the question whether John the son of Zebedee, as well as James and probably Peter, is shown by the New Testament itself, apart from later tradition, to have suffered a martyr's death. Professor Bacon finds that the New Testament

does probably show John's martyrdom. Critics are convinced that Mark 10:39 could not have maintained its place in the gospel narrative unless this were so. To the objection that John 21:22, 23 indicates the opposite, he urges that the late writer of John xxi "takes account of both forms" of the tradition and "substitutes for them his own"—that John continued to live, "but not in the sense of *physical* survival. His *testimony* abides." The language of the gospel, therefore, usually understood somewhat literally, is really mere symbol.

"The Disciple Whom Jesus Loved," in the October *Expositor*, presents what is probably an even more ingenious interpretation of New Testament language, the key of symbolism still being used. John 13:1–30 is not a Passover, nor a Eucharist, nor even a general sacrament; "it is a sacrament for only one of those present—'the son of perdition,' and for him it is a sacrament of judgment." Those present were not disciples "of flesh and blood," or they would not have allowed Judas to escape, after he had been pointed out as a betrayer. The mother of Jesus (John 19:25–27) is not "a flesh and blood mother," but "rather she of whom Jesus speaks in Luke 11:27 ff., 'they that hear the word of God and keep it.'" And, likewise, "the disciple whom Jesus loved" "is no disciple of flesh and blood;" "he is the type of that faith which does not wait for ocular demonstration." Still, he is a man who is "something more and other than a purely ideal figure;" "a very real man has sat for the portrait;" and that man is none other than Paul. Is this an appreciation of the actual symbolism of the New Testament carried to an absurdity, or not? That is the question now before us.

Among a number, perhaps, of possible lines of criticism, two only may here be suggested. First: Is there any such certainty that Mark 10:39 implies a martyrdom for John? Did the drinking of Jesus' cup consist merely in martyrdom—dying? Might not one just as truly drink his cup by living as he lived? Second: Has Professor Bacon shown us a serious effort to estimate the apparently unique testimony of Irenaeus to the effect that John lived to old age in Asia Minor?

Book Reviews

A Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels. Edited by JAMES HASTINGS with the assistance of JOHN A. SELBIE, D. D., and (in the reading of proofs) JOHN C. LAMBERT, D. D. New York: Scribner's; Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1907. To be complete in two volumes. Vol. I: "Aaron"—"Knowledge." Pp. xii + 936. Sold only by subscription. $6.00 per volume.

The preface to this work should not try to evade acknowledging its scholarly character by saying that its articles are mostly written by men who are, or have been, preachers. They are written, rather, by men who are, or are going to be, professors. Essential direction and final arrival, being positive, are more truly descriptive than early accidental position and subsequent departure, which are negative. Pastors who have become professors by that very transition betray their essential quality. It is not to their discredit. Both forms of service are needed and those who love God with the mind love him as really as those who love him with the heart. Perhaps Jesus added "mind" to the Deuteronomic precept just to make it clear that he commends and commands an integral rather than a fragmentary service and that there may be in service a transfer of emphasis from one function to another without sin. Well, this is, on the whole, a very scholarly dictionary. If only scholars and writers who know their Bibles so well that if a reference is anywhere near right they can easily make the necessary mental correction, would but remember how annoyingly the average and unerudite pastor is baffled and thrown out in his use of an article by coming upon a succession of inaccurate citations such as occur at the bottom of p. 71*a* and top of 71*b*, where John 2:29 must be meant for John 2:19; Matt. 12:29 for Matt. 12:40, and Mark 8:24 for Mark 8:34. There are some articles in this dictionary that should have been read more times than they have been in either copy or proof or both. Such inaccuracies, however, are minor as well as provoking, and, on the whole, the present work is not only scholarly in its treatments but accurate in its details.

The fact that the editor of the *Dictionary of the Bible* edits the present work also, at once raises the question why the *Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels* should be issued at all. Christ and the gospels are integral parts of the Bible and should already have obtained in the earlier work their full

quota of appropriate articles. Nevertheless the new work is new and is wisely and helpfully made. Articles which duplicate the headings of the earlier dictionary do not by any means duplicate the earlier subject-matter. "Atonement" illustrates the difference. The former work uses three columns under this heading, the present uses over twelve. The former keeps pretty strictly inside the fences of biblical theology, the latter goes out into the systematic and dogmatic pastures. The former article starts with etymology, the latter with a theological thesis. Yet the history of the doctrine which it adds is very helpful to the average pastor and its clear statement of the issue between the thinkers who linger at the cradle and those who linger at the cross is illuminating. In a word, the important headings of the earlier work as repeated in the newer one do cover matter which is not to be found in the previous volumes. Every one knows how even in strong hands and in spite of fate biblical and dogmatic theology will overlap each other. Good material written up from both view-points should be within the pastor's reach as he sits at his desk.

This same article, "Atonement," also illustrates what seems to the present reviewer to be the greater general conservatism or "orthodoxy" of the newer dictionary as compared with the earlier. There is an authentic story of a shrewd agent for theological books who said he was not so stupid as either to canvass for the *Dictionary of the Bible* in a certain New Jersey seminary or to canvass for the *Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels* in a certain New York seminary. The story seems to be, to some extent, true to the character of the respective works; nor is a somewhat conservative view-point to be deprecated in a work specially intended for preachers. Something is due to one's position, and to his audience. Truth is truth, even in the field of biblical criticism, and ultimately will prevail, but truth may be preached in such a way or to such a class of people as practically to teach moral error. There are "advanced" views after which a pastor may follow with discriminating footsteps in his study and yet keep well to the rear of in his public presentations. For the preacher is in the practical position so well indicated, though indirectly indicated, by the dead Laureate (*In Memoriam*, xxxiii and liii)—a position in which his wider faith may well be careful how it proclaims itself to men of a less sophisticated piety, a position in which he may hold his new doctrine to be sound and yet hesitate in an age of transition to preach it as a truth to "those that eddy round and round." Wise indeed in these days is the man who, Jacob fashion (Gen. 33:14), can lead on gently according to the pace of his spiritual children and yet lead the heart as well as the head.

Moreover, there are here provided certain entirely new articles written

with valuable sanity and healthfulness. The treatment of "Authority of Christ" is an instance. Pastors are continually hearing of and preaching upon the attractiveness and perfection of Christ's utterances. They have been much lectured upon his "method and secret." They get to thinking that if they could livingly reproduce the spirit of his life and words their own sermons would be irresistible. They suffer intensely and often morbidly over their spiritual failures. They will be glad to have it made clear, clear though it has always been, that Jesus himself was often a popular failure, and that while he spoke with authority, the sweet compulsion of his voice respected the sanctity of man's will.

The wide range of the work before us and its completeness of treatment is sometimes startlingly in evidence. One comes upon titles that he would never think of looking for in such massive quartos. Who would expect a heading that repeats a popular religious watchword such as "Back to Christ," or one that deals with such a plain old sermonic topic as "Coming to Christ," or one like "Above and Below" that considers the religious incidence of the Copernican astronomy? Yet all these articles are decidedly helpful to preachers, giving, as they often do, a scholarly and systematic treatment of questions that modern science and the historic method are constantly slipping under the study door. The fact is that these diverse headings make it practically necessary that this dictionary be conned fully as much as consulted. It is a work for reading as well as reference. One must know its titles and matter beforehand in order readily to find on any occasional consultation what he then requires.

A word should also be said in praise of the references at the ends of the articles. They often add to the volumes of biblical scholars titles from general literature which are of especial value to pastors. "Gentleness" is in point. The *Dictionary of the Bible* has no reference there to Matthew Arnold. The present work does refer to *Literature and Dogma*. To be sure the reference is not quite correct. It should read VII:5 instead of VII:3. There should also have been references to at least III:2, VIII:2, and VIII:5, and also to *St. Paul and Protestantism*, p. xix, where Arnold first suggested his rendering of ἐπιεικείας. But it is something to have Arnold referred to at all. And to the credit of the new dictionary it should be said that it does seem to be aware of the existence of much that in general literature has been clearly and helpfully said about special words and topics connected with Christ and the gospels.

And yet the present reviewer cannot for the life of him see why these references to general literature are not made far more numerous and more precisely appropriate than they are. Why is no reference given in the

Dictionary of the Bible, under either "David" or "Saul," to Browning's *Saul* or to Tennyson's *Merlin and Vivien*, 760–64? Why is there no reference under "Stephen" to Tennyson's *Two Voices*, 219–25? Why neither under "Elijah" in the *Dictionary of the Bible* nor under "Ascension" in the present work is there a reference to Tennyson's *Lover's Tale*, I, 299–303? And why under none of the articles on John or John's Gospel is there any reference to Browning's *Death in the Desert*? And if the writer of "Above and Below" already referred to could quote from *The Higher Pantheism*, why could he not refer, for instance, to the *Holy Grail*, 526–28, where, when the poet speaks of the Holy City as being no larger than a single pearl although the goal of all the saints, he gives a fine illustration in biblical imagery of the unrelatedness of space and spirit?

Nevertheless, this *Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels* is, so far as this first volume shows, a very good work indeed, and every pastor should have it at hand until the one that is perfect shall be published.

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CHICAGO

The Philosophy of Religion: A Critical and Speculative Treatise of Man's Religious Experience and Development in the Light of Modern Science and Reflective Thinking. By GEORGE TRUMBULL LADD, LL.D. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1905. 2 vols., pp. xx+616, and xii+590. $7.

In these volumes Professor Ladd brings to a close an extended scheme of philosophical publication and at the same time embodies in a systematic treatise his ripe views on the subject of religion and on the relation of this fundamental interest to present-day scientific and philosophical methods. On both points he is to be congratulated, for in these days of complex investigations it has been permitted to but few thinkers to express themselves adequately on the varied field of philosophy and at the same time to orientate themselves definitely in relation to religion. We now have Professor Ladd's system completely and finally before us. It remains for the future to estimate its significance precisely. But while avoiding a pre-judgment of this estimate it may perhaps be said that Professor Ladd's name will remain as representing, typically, one distinctive line of American philosophical inquiry, viz., that of mediating between philosophy and religion.

The two volumes now under consideration are, as our author informs us, the outcome of some forty years' work upon the problems of religion. They express a mind sincerely religious yet earnestly desirous of under-

standing religion and of determining its validity. In accomplishing this purpose Professor Ladd exacts tribute from the various philosophical disciplines, from science—physical, anthropological, sociological, and psychological—from art, and from literature, as well as from the vast field of religious phenomena. Throughout, he strives earnestly to be just both to scientific and philosophical methods, and to religious belief. In other words the treatise, in intention, is a philosophy of religion and not an apologetic of theology.

A detailed consideration of Professor Ladd's volumes, within the limits of a short review, is impossible. The ground covered is too vast, the problems too complex and manifold to permit of such treatment. All that can be undertaken is a summary of the subject-matter and method.

The work is monumental in its scope. It seeks to understand and to interpret religion as it has operated in the race, as it has incorporated itself in human experience, and as it has demanded recognition of its claims from man's critical inquiry. Accordingly, Professor Ladd collects and sifts his data from the broad fields of the science and history of religion as these are treated by the comparative method. To this he adds material drawn from an elaborate treatment of the psychology both in its individual and social aspects. The results obtained he weaves into a distinctive view-point. The book is thus divided into three parts. The first of these deals with the phenomenology of religion; the second, with the psychology of religion; the third, with the philosophy of religion. It astonishes one to observe how fully Professor Ladd has covered his vast field, with what painstaking industry he has tilled its so widely varied soils, with what earnest and patient zeal he has sought to develop fruits which shall be satisfactory to the taste of the most critically minded. This is but to say that the book is erudite even to a fault and that its author has striven fairly to keep his inquiry throughout on the highest levels.

In criticism a few points may be suggested. First, despite Professor Ladd's intention to develop a philosophy of religion his book must nonetheless be regarded as an apologetic. Throughout the twelve hundred long and too closely printed pages there runs a current of inquiry not for the sake of inquiry, nor even for the sake of religion, but in the interest of a broad yet conservative theology. Accordingly, Professor Ladd never permits his facts or his problems quite to speak for themselves. Indeed, the unanimity with which these facts and problems voice a particular theology challenges criticism immediately. One cannot acquit the author of the sin of easy "rationality" which inveterately pursues the apologist. A comparison of Professor Ladd's second volume with Mr. F. H. Brad-

ley's *Appearance and Reality* would serve to make clearer this objection on the subject of method and tendency.

Second, a certain lack in perspective is evident. There are so many objects in the picture, and they are massed in such a way, as to obscure the picture itself. This is especially true of the section upon the phenomenology of religion. Much might have been gained by unifying Professor Ladd's references to the diverse forms of religion into different types of religious development, whatever classification might be employed in effecting this purpose.

Third, the book is diffuse. As a single illustration too much time would appear to be spent in the introduction on problems, methods, difficulties, and benefits, and standards of value. The topics are matters of importance, but they could all be made clear by the constructive work which follows.

In conclusion it should be said that these criticisms which have been presented as an individual reaction upon the book do not blind the reviewer to the immense service which Professor Ladd's book will render to the study of religion.

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New Literature

OLD TESTAMENT

BOOKS

The Holy Bible, Containing the Old and New Testaments Translated out of the Original Tongues. Being the Version Set Forth A. D., 1611, Compared with the Most Ancient Authorities and Revised A. D., 1881–1885. Newly Edited by the American Revision Committee A. D., 1901. Standard Edition. New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons.

This is the latest form in which the Standard Edition has appeared. It is a self-pronouncing Bible, printed in minion, 16mo, black-faced type, and put up in a large variety of bindings and on various grades of paper. It is of pocket size (4¾×7 inches) but yet in good readable type, and altogether a very convenient and desirable form of the best existing English translation of the Scriptures. Prices range from $1.50 to $7.50, according to the style of binding, the quality of paper chosen, and the amount of supplementary material included in the way of "helps."

ORR, J. The Bible under Trial: In view of Present-Day Assaults on Holy Scripture. Second Edition. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son. Pp. viii+323. $1 75.

This book is a popular presentation of the arguments against the modern view of the Bible. It adds [nothing essential to the discussion as it is to be found in the author's previous *Problem of the Old Testament*.

COOK, S. A. Critical notes on Old Testament History: The Traditions of Saul and David. London: Macmillan & Co. Pp. xxviii+160. 2*s*. 6*d*.

These chapters first appeared in various journals, but are well worth reprinting. They are devoted to a thorough analytical examination of the records of the early kingdom; the results involve a new presentation of the early Israelitish history.

HAUSER, O. Die Urform der Psalmen. Das erste Buch des Psalters in metrischer Umschrift und Uebersetzung. Grossenhain: Baumert und Ronge. Pp. xi+186. M. 4.

An attempt to recover the original form of Pss. 1–40. It is, of course, a study in poetical structure and of direct interest only to experts. The results are interesting, but the method too subjective.

STÄHELIN, F. ¶ Probleme der israelitischen Geschichte. Habilitationsvorlesung. Basel: Helbing und Lichtenhahn. Pp. 34. M. 0.40.

MERX, A. Die Bücher Moses und Josua. Eine Einführung für Laien [Religionsgeschichtliche Volksbücher für die deutsche christliche Gegenwart]. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr. Pp. 160. M. 1.

BAENTSCH, B. David und sein Zeitalter. [Wissenschaft und Bildung. Einzeldarstellungen aus allen Gebieten des Wissens]. Leipzig: Quelle und Meyer. M. 1.

BROWN, C. R. The Book of the Prophet Jeremiah. [An American Commentary on the Old Testament.] Philadelphia: The American Baptist Publication Society. Pp. xxxvi+256.

This is the latest volume and one of the best in this series of commentaries on the Old Testament. There is a large measure of freedom in the critical attitude toward the text and other critical questions.

TOFFTEEN, O. A. Researches in Biblical Archaeology. I. Ancien Chronology, Part I. Published for the Oriental Society of the Western Theological Seminary by the University of Chicago Press. Pp. xix+302. $2.50.

An interesting work designed to defend traditional views. It presents a wealth of material, many new interpretations of fact, and original conclusions. The work is marred by many inexcusable errors in spelling.

ARTICLES

SMITH, H. P. Israel or Jerahmeel? *The American Journal of Theology*, October, pp. 553–68.

This is a careful and critical examination of the Jerahmeelite hypothesis so persistently championed by Cheyne. The article deserves the consideration of all students.

SMITH, H. P. Theophorous Names in the Old Testament. *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, October, pp. 34–61.

An important study of Old Testament proper names, which shows that they often contain the names of ancient deities. It is another line of evidence showing the polytheistic character of ancient Israelitish belief.

NEW TESTAMENT

BOOKS

SANDAY, WILLIAM. The Life of Christ in Recent Research. New York; Oxford University Press, 1907. Pp. vii+328.

Certain recent lectures, reviews, and sermons of Professor Sanday's have been combined into this volume. It presents a survey of the most important literature of the past twenty years upon the life and person of Christ, with a special chapter on miracles. Professor Sanday's well-known scholarly moderation characterizes the whole.

ORR, JAMES. The Virgin Birth of Christ ("Bible Teachers' Training School Lectures," 1907). New York: Scribner's, 1907. Pp. xiv+301. $1.50 net.

The aim of these lectures is "to establish faith in the miracle of the Lord's Incarnation by Birth from the Virgin, to meet objections, and to show the intimate connection of fact and doctrine in this transcendent mystery." The purpose is not to discover truth but to defend it. A dogmatic and apologetic tone pervades the lectures.

ROBERTSON, A. T. Epochs in the Life of Jesus. A Study of Development and Struggle in the Messiah's Work. New York: Scribner's, 1907. Pp. xi+192. $1 net.

These lectures, delivered at a Missouri summer assembly in 1906, present in popular form the main facts of Jesus' life. The writer seeks to give "a straight-forward constructive discussion of the career of Jesus as set forth in the Gospels," putting the emphasis upon the pivotal points in the movement of Jesus' ministry, and avoiding critical discussion. The point of view is conservative.

LAKE, KIRSOPP. Historical Evidence for the Resurrection of Jesus Christ (Crown Theological Library, Vol. XXI). London: Williams & Norgate, 1907. Pp. viii+291. 5*s* net.

An examination of the evidence from the critical point of view, with a result unfavorable to the material view of the resurrection.

FERRIS, GEORGE A. The Formation of the New Testament. Philadelphia: Griffith & Rowland Press, 1907. Pp. 280. 90 cents net.

An able and intelligent study of the rise of the books of the New Testament to pre-eminence among early Christian works, and the causes contributing to it. The presentation is popular and at the same time scholarly.

GREGORY, CASPAR RENÉ. The Canon and Text of the New Testament. ("International Theological Library.") New York: Scribner's, 1907. Pp. vii+539. $2.50.

Professor Gregory's long-expected volume on the history of the text and canon of the New Testament will receive a wide and cordial welcome in America. As the greatest of authorities upon New Testament manuscripts, the writer is ideally fitted for the second part of his task, and the earlier part displays no inferiority, exhibiting throughout Dr. Gregory's wide learning and lively charm of presentation. The book is the best on its subjects that we possess. The presentation is popular, even entertaining, in its freshness.

FINNEY, ROSS L. Huck's Synopsis of the First Three Gospels Arranged for English Readers. Cincinnati: Jennings and Graham. 1907. Pp. 171. $1 net.

Using the American Standard Revision, Finney presents the arrangement of Huck's *Synopse*, translating the German section-titles and adding Huck's tables. The work is faithfully done, but it is based on Huck's second edition, 1898. This is most unfortunate, as in his recent third edition, 1906, Huck has fundamentally remodeled his work, greatly improving and enriching it. No hint of this appears in Finney's Preface, nor does he state upon what edition he is basing his translation.

ARTICLES

BURTON, E. D. Redemption from the Curse of the Law; An Exposition of Gal. 3:13, 14. American Journal of Theology, October, 1907. Pp. 624–46.

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